

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH *July-August, 1941*



SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AMONG THE PRIMITIVES OF FORMOSA

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● Formosa is a Portuguese word for beautiful. Geographically and geologically a part of China, this island was ceded to Japan at the close of the Japan-China War of 1894-95.

History. When the Dutch in 1624 landed at what is now called *Taiwanfoo*, they found the whole of the western coast and the plains inhabited by many savage tribes whose manners and customs seem to have closely resembled those of the aborigines who live in the mountains at the present day.¹ Soon after the arrival of the Chinese in 608 A.D., the savages began to retreat to their mountain fastnesses as the Oriental invaders took more and more of the fertile lands away from the aborigines. The natives who remained in the lowlands or plains fell under the influence of Chinese culture and became known as domesticated savages or *Pepohoans* who adopted Chinese ways and customs. The "civilized" aborigines are called Juku-Ban or Sinicized natives.

These people, the Japanese tell us, are now "being given facilities for receiving education and acquiring a knowledge of useful trades."²

Nearly half of the entire west coast is inhabited by more than 4,500,000 Chinese Formosans whose forefathers

¹ W. A. Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1898), p. 64.

² "Progressive Formosa," The Government of Formosa, 1926.

came from Fukien. These people are classified into *Fukienese* and *Cantonese*, and retain practically all the culture traits of the mainland. The Japanese so far have made little impression upon their ways of living. The Chinese of Formosa have had great contempt for the aborigines and treat them as Americans have treated the Indians. They barter with them, cheat them, and drive them back into the mountains.

In the central mountain districts and on the eastern coastal plain live approximately 150,000 more or less "savage" aborigines of nine distinctly different tribes. According to the latest researches of scholars at the Imperial University of Taihoku, these native tribes may be classified as follows: Atayal, Bunun, Tsuou, Rukai (Tsarisen), Paiwan, Panapanayan (Puyuma), Pangtsah (Ami), Sai-siat, and Yami. These tribes probably arrived from the south at different times, some on the east coast and some on the west. There is a wide distinction between the natives of one district and those of another in language, dress, habits, and customs.

Social organization. The Formosan aborigines are controlled largely by a moral code which custom and tradition have established. Public opinion is very strong, and each one considers his own personal interests and the interests of the tribe as one and inseparable.

Generally speaking, each primitive recognizes the following persons as members of his own family group: his parents, his grandparents, and his parents' brothers, the children of his parents' brothers, his own brothers and their children, his own sons and daughters, and finally his grandchildren.

Marriage between these relatives is prohibited. Forming as they do one kinship group, near relatives are expected to give special care to the widows, the widowers, and the orphans who need help. Despite the fact that For-

mosan savages fear the dead and will not attend funerals, the relatives of the deceased must be present at the burial ceremony.

Personal, family, and clan names. These blood relationships are maintained by a system of personal, family, and clan names which are difficult for the outsider to follow. There are no totems in the social organization of the native tribes, but there are many clans in certain tribes which play an important part in marriage customs. This clan system prevails among the Bunun, Ami, Tsou, and Saisiat, where strict clan exogamy is enforced. No marriage ever takes place between two persons who belong to the same clan, though they may live in widely separated villages. On the other hand, marriages may and often do occur between members of the same village if the parties to the union are not of the same clan.

Among the Bunun, for example, there are six divisions or subtribes, and all the clans are found among all the subdivisions. The Bunun children become members of the father's clan under a patrilineal system, and the grandchildren as well. In contrast, among the Ami, or Pangtsah, descent is traced through the mother.

The savage tribes originally had no surnames, and the individual members were given nicknames like "fleet of foot," "strong one," "brave one," "good marksman," et cetera. Individuals were also named after natural objects. Thus, a Tsou might be designated as Yabai (given name) Niaboiana (clan name). There are six other clan names among the Tsou. Or, a Bunun's signature might appear as Lusque (given name) Noanan (clan name). The Bunun have at least nine other clan names.

There are no clans among the Paiwan, the Atayal, or the Yami. Furthermore, the Paiwan family names are not permanent, but change at different periods of a man's life, i.e., when he marries and establishes his own home, when

he shifts his interest, or when he meets with some misfortune.³

Marriage. As all savages marry, there are no bachelors or old maids in the mountain settlement. These people also make a strong distinction between adults and youth, not necessarily by age groupings alone but according to prowess and ability as well. When a youth shows that he has reached maturity, his elders confer upon him the status of an adult, which entitles him to such privileges as a seat in the general council, the right to marry, and in some districts permission to chew betel-nut.

Bachelor houses. Most tribes enforce the "bachelor house" system whereby a youth of fifteen or sixteen must leave his parents' home and live in the bachelor dormitory until he marries. In one tribe at least, the Puyuma, there are two such barracks or clubhouses: one for boys of twelve to fifteen years of age and one for youths over fifteen. Each age-group strictly obeys the orders of those who are in the older classification. The duties usually assigned to the young bachelors are gathering wood for the fire which must be kept burning, or fetching water usually in long bamboo tubes which they carry on their shoulders. The savages explain that the bachelor houses tend (1) to develop courage and the fighting spirit, especially as the heads of fallen foes often adorn the walls; and (2) to promote chastity and pure-mindedness among the women and children in the home, since these members of the family will not be exposed to the rough speech and manners of the boys approaching maturity. The Paiwan set up carved wooden images of both sexes in their bachelor dormitories which serve presumably to initiate the boys into the mysteries of sex life. Every boy is taught to develop certain attitudes toward girls and the proper way to treat them on

³ Interviews with Professor N. Utsurikawa and Mr. N. Miyamoto of the Institute of Ethnology, Taihoku Imperial University, Taiwan.

various occasions. These sleeping quarters for the unmarried males are frequently elevated six feet or more above ground after the pattern of Indonesian dwellings. The youths gain entrance by climbing bamboo poles. The Tsou have a large tribal council hall which they call "The Kutsuba." The floor is covered with matting of woven China grass and is raised about four feet from the ground. Here all unmarried youths above twelve or thirteen years of age sleep. The women are kept away from these quarters, and no young man is permitted to bring into the hall any article which women use. On occasion, the dormitory becomes the headquarters of the tribe, and the elders here publicly discuss all matters of general interest to the whole group.⁴

Marriage is a privilege which is withheld from a man until he proves his skill as a hunter or his courage as a warrior by bringing in at least one Chinese or Japanese head. With the passing of the old order, new standards must be set up to test one's fitness for marriage. Boys marry when they are eighteen or nineteen years old; girls at sixteen or seventeen. An average woman will give birth to seven or eight children, but infant mortality is high. The parents of the girl make the necessary arrangements for their daughter. There is a simple ceremony, and the bride is bedecked with ornaments and bright-colored garments before she is taken to her husband's dwelling. Drinking, dancing, and riotous feasting give the villagers a chance to show their approval of the match.

A typical wedding scene is the knife dance. The priestesses dance about the newly married pair, brandishing their knives to drive away evil spirits. The dance ends with the chief priestess making a slight cut in one of the legs of both bride and groom. She mixes a few drops of their

⁴ Yosaburo Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

blood on her knife, to destroy evil influences. Finally, the young couple drink together from a skull, preferably from one captured by the man himself. The marriage relationship, generally speaking, is permanent unless the reasons for a divorce are publicly stated. As a rule, husband and wife live happily together. In some tribes, should the husband die before the wife becomes a mother, the woman may marry again; but a widow with children is not supposed to remarry, since she must give her entire time and attention to bringing up her offspring. Other rules which apply to the mountain tribes are: marriage between near blood relatives is tabu; husband and wife possess equal rights; and monogamy prevails.

In the Bunun group there is still some evidence of marriage by capture, while in other groups there is a reminder of exchange marriages and of the exchange of gifts as a part of the wedding ceremony. Marriage of first cousins on either side of the family is not looked upon with favor, but the Ami, Puyuma, Tsarisen, and Paiwan absolutely prohibit marriage with the first cousin on the mother's side. Among the other tribes marriage with the first cousin on the father's side is a tabu that no young couple would dare to violate.⁵

Marriage customs vary from tribe to tribe. The east Atayal, for example, maintain in their thickly populated district a watchtower some twenty feet above the ground. Here the newlyweds live for the first five nights after the marriage. When the young couple return from their honeymoon, the bridegroom builds the hut which will be their future home, while the bride has her face tattooed to show that she is now a worthy matron.

Special marriage customs. Ami: Among the Ami, it is customary for the suitor to bring with him on his first visit four bundles of fuel wood of the *Melia japonica* tree.

⁵ Janet B. Montgomery McGovern, *Among the Head-Hunters of Formosa* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1922).

The wood is cut in convenient sizes for burning under the cooking pots. One additional bundle is brought to the lady of his choice each day thereafter until the number reaches twenty. If the girl has replenished her fire with these ceremonial offerings, it means that she will accept the young man as her husband. Usually boys of ten years of age plant trees which may be used for fuel when they have grown to be five or six feet tall. Thus firewood from a certain tree and courtship days are inseparable.

The Ami probably have more separations and remarriages than any other tribe. The children of temporary unions go with one parent or the other, often depending upon the decision which the grandparents reach after consulting the priestesses of the tribe.

Tsuou: The same freedom of marriage that we find in other tribes characterizes the Tsuou. The young man offers the young lady a fancy hairpin called *siisii* made of deerhorn. If the girl accepts the gift, the man accompanied by several friends goes to the bride's house and carries her away to his own home after the manner of his forefathers, who in all probability actually did capture their brides by force of arms. The next morning the girl runs away and soon turns up at her mother's home. She remains with her parents three days, only to be "recaptured" then by another show of force and returned to her lover's home, where friends gather to celebrate the event and to bring the wedding ceremony to a close.

Bunun: Here again young people enjoy complete freedom in choosing a mate. Like the Tsuou, the Bunun retain the ancient custom of "marriage by capture," although it is merely a poor imitation of the original. In some of the clans a sham battle ensues between the relatives of the bride and those of the bridegroom, and the shedding of blood during the rough and tumble is a sign of happy days to come.

Paiwan: After the Paiwan brave has won his bride by placing the usual fuel and water in front of her door, the lover becomes a member of his wife's family for several years and does the chores which ordinarily fall to the man of the household. Later he takes the wife to his own house and there celebrates the occasion with feasting and dancing. The relatives who attend bring offerings of wine and betel-nuts.

Puyuma: The woman is the center of the Puyuma family system. When the girl has chosen a mate and the marriage ceremony is over, the bridegroom transfers his residence to the home and family of his wife. Marriages are thus chiefly under the control of the woman and her family. The blood relatives of the young husband renounce all claim to him as his wife's family assumes responsibility for his future. He shares in all the ups and downs of his newly adopted home, but he remains in a subordinate and dependent position until the death of his wife's parents. Then he acquires a new status as the husband of the surviving member of the household, and he inherits certain rights and privileges according to tribal law.

Tsarisen: Marriage is not so free and unrestricted among the Tsarisen as among other Formosan tribes. The parents on both sides must consent to a marriage, and a go-between must make the preliminary arrangements. A month elapses between the betrothal and the simple wedding ceremony. The bride stays with her mother until she bears a child, and then she moves to the house of her husband. The marriage is now complete. If the woman does not become pregnant, the bridegroom gradually loses interest in his wife, and eventually the couple separate permanently. Each person is now free to seek a partner elsewhere. On the other hand, if the wife conceives, the husband, it is said, puts himself under strict discipline. Dur-

ing the month just before his child is born, he stays indoors and presumably tries to make the living quarters as comfortable as possible for the expectant mother.

Yami: The natives of Botel Tobago arrange marriages while their children are still very young. When a boy and a girl are old enough, the parents of the bridegroom give the bride a necklace as an engagement present. Soon thereafter the girl may be invited to a feast at the home of the young man, which takes the place of a formal wedding ceremony in more civilized lands. For several months the bride must be in daily attendance at her husband's home to cook his meals and to carry on the daily routine of a dutiful housewife. Nevertheless, the man cannot claim any other marital rights until she herself decides to consummate the marriage. The bride may return each night to the home of her parents and, after a reasonable time, if she is still undecided or unwilling to give herself to the man whom her parents have chosen for her, the marriage may be annulled with the return of the necklace to the groom's parents. The husband retains the same right to withdraw from the marriage should the bride disappoint him. The young couple are supposed to give their parents' wishes a fair trial; if subsequent events seem to prove that the original decision was not a happy one, then both husband and wife are free to choose their own partners.⁶

Pepohoan: The "Pepo" group occupy the western plains. For three hundred years or more they have been in touch with civilization, first with the Dutch and later with the Chinese, who have virtually assimilated these aborigines. The Pepohoan have even lost their native language, so far has the acculturation process gone.

The natives of the plains are intermarrying with the

⁶ James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa* (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1903), pp. 569 *et seq.*

Chinese and have adopted their foreign customs. There is little intermarriage with Chinese or Japanese among the mountain tribes.

In former days, there was an old custom which bestowed the most beautiful girl of the tribe upon the winner of a special foot race in which all young eligible bachelors fought for victory.

In contrast to the mountain Atayal tribe, the Pepohoan have frequent divorces, and the chief is usually called upon to decide whether the children shall be given to the father or to the mother.

Position of native women. Writing in 1895, Mackay describes the hard lot of the native woman:

The heaviest burden rests upon her. All day long she toils in the fields and at night carries home the fruit of her work. Then she goes out into the bush and gathers firewood, returning with a heavy load on her back. Exposure, drudgery, poor food, and all the other ills of her burdened life soon tell on her strength; the strong, healthy, finely developed girl is old before her time, and at an age when her civilized sister is in her prime she is worn, haggard, and utterly repulsive in her decrepit ugliness. Centuries of civilization and the influence of Christianity would equalize the burden of men and women, and teach those idle braves that the weaker sex is not the beast of burden for the lords of the tribe. Whatever new burdens might be imposed by the sharper struggle for existence in a more highly organized and complicated state of society, they could scarcely be more cruel and crushing than those that make a savage woman's life too dreary for pleasure and too unromantic for tragedy.⁷

Other observers comment upon the arduous work which falls to the lot of women; but, at the same time, they call attention to the fact that the aboriginal Formosan woman holds an enviable status in both political and religious life. The Paiwan, for example, and likewise the small adjacent tribe of the Puyuma, have groups in which the chieftainship seems to be hereditary and descends from mother to daughter. When the old chieftainess dies with-

⁷ George L. Mackay, *From Far Formosa* (New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1895).

out leaving a daughter, it sometimes happens that a male chief is appointed to rule. The savage women are fond of their babies and give them tender care. Twins are regarded as an ill omen, and the weaker child is usually killed at birth. This practice, as we have seen, is common among many primitive peoples. Illegitimate children are also put to death in conformity with the moral codes of savage life.

Infanticide, apart from these instances, does not seem to exist. Owing to the hard struggle for existence among the aborigines, however, infant mortality is very high and families are small. Recent studies seem to show that the birth rate is much higher than the death rate in all tribes except the Puyuma, which has a stationary population.⁸

Different explanations have been given for the comparatively high status of the woman in Formosan savage society. The aborigines have reached the stage of "hoe-culture," as far as the women are concerned, but the men are still in the "hunting and fishing stage." The women do not carry on "true agriculture" by the use of the plough; nevertheless they fashion a crude hoe to help in the raising of millet and sweet potatoes. Women have charge of the storehouses and distribute food to the senior woman of each family. McGovern suggests that the women's control over the staple foods and the major part they play in curing tobacco leaves and fermenting wine may possibly account for the singular power which they exercise in tribal affairs.⁹ Lowie, on the contrary, questions the assumption that a "hoe-culture" stage of civilization necessarily implies the ascendancy of women and reminds us that females among the most primitive Andaman Islanders are on a much higher plane than those among many "agricultural" peoples in different parts of the world. In Formosa,

⁸ N. Utsurikawa, Taihoku Imperial University.

⁹ Janet B. Montgomery McGovern, *op. cit.*

whatever causes may have been responsible originally for "women's rights," close co-operation between the sexes has led to a stable, well-balanced society. Each able-bodied man brings in his share of meat, and every woman who is physically able cultivates the field, harvests the crop, and stores the food. Disputes over personal or communal property seldom arise, and these are usually settled by the chief, the chieftess, or the priestess, as the case may be, and in some more serious instances by the council or elderly men or women according to the traditions of the particular group in which the trouble occurs. Throughout the native villages the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" seems to have worked well for centuries.

Diseases. Tuberculosis and pneumonia in the north among the Atayal savages and malaria in the south among the Yami are the principal diseases which the Japanese authorities are called upon to combat. There is much venereal disease among the Bunun, the Paiwan, and the Ami—in fact, wherever the primitives come in contact with the Chinese or Japanese. The Atayal people are very strict in their marital relations, adultery being a most serious offense, and they are consequently almost free from the social diseases. There is practically no tuberculosis or venereal disease among the Botel Tobago Yami, who, as we have seen, use neither alcohol nor tobacco. Again, after the first World War, the epidemic of influenza which swept over the Orient did not touch Botel Tobago.

Religion. The religion of the Formosan primitives is a form of nature or ancestor worship. The ideas and symbols usually associated with Chinese thought have no place in the beliefs of the aborigines. Many observers are apt to classify the Chinese as idolaters, but this general impression may sometimes lead us astray. The writer was fortunate in knowing during his stay in Formosa the son

of George L. Mackay, the author of *From Far Formosa*—a lifelong resident. The missionary recounted an incident which throws an interesting light on the meaning of "idolatry." When visiting a small village between Suo and Karenko on the east coast recently, missionary Mackay noticed a group of Chinese apparently worshipping an idol in the form of a human figure carved on stone which was standing by the roadside. As a Christian, he rebuked the Chinese for bowing down before an image, but they insisted that they were not worshipping, that the ceremony had nothing to do with their religion. They were merely paying homage to the memory of a troop of Chinese soldiers whose brave deeds were inscribed on the commemorative tablet. The monument was not a religious symbol at all, but marked the spot where, sixty years before, the fierce head-hunting Atayal had treacherously attacked and almost completely annihilated a regiment of soldiers marching from Suo to Karenko.

The aborigines likewise do not bow down before any fetishes or shrines and have no conception of a supreme God. The savages have religious feasts, especially at harvest time, to express their gratitude to the heavens and the earth, and try to propitiate the spirits of their ancestors and the mighty warriors of the past. The word *ta-ni-sah* means the spirit or the soul, and *egyp*, the material body.

The savage women play a leading role in religious observances. As priestesses of their tribes, they enter into trancelike experiences from which they can foretell the success or failure of a proposed expedition. They make offerings of food and drink to the spirits before meals, besides scattering morsels to the four points of the compass. The priestesses also observe the flight of birds and try to recognize good or evil omens. Pickering tells us that there exists among the savages a kind of totemism wherein each tribe is under the tutelage of some bird, beast, or reptile;

but the latest researches indicate that this observer must have been mistaken, for there is no hint of totemism among the Formosan aborigines.¹⁰

In ancestor worship the spirits dwell in the virgin forests, and old trees that dominate villages are the abiding place of ancestral souls who have lived near the groves. These spirits of one's ancestors are in a position to bring fortune or disaster—they are able either to enlist the support of other good spirits or to thwart the evil designs of bad spirits. Through dreams the souls of the dead are able to communicate with the living.

Burial. Old men and women often take charge of religious rites and ceremonies on the ground that they have acquired over the years uncanny powers similar to those of witches. The belief in "parisi" permits the natives to drive away evil spirits by a ceremony of religious purification which takes place on the occasion of the ancestral festival. Fasting during illness and the cleansing ritual at death are also classed under the head of "parisi." The ceremonies of "parisi" are necessary to ward off calamity.

"Parisi" as practiced among several tribes in Formosa resembles to some extent the "tapu" of the South Sea Islanders.

Some tribes bury their dead under the sleeping rooms of their houses. A Formosan, who had been able to converse freely with an old chief in the south of the Island, discovered that three of the warrior's ancestors had already been laid to rest beneath the room in which he was squatting. One ancestor was lying in each of three corners of the hut. The chief himself would eventually be placed in the fourth corner. This strange burial ground would accommodate only four bodies; so the new chief must build another hut, which would serve the dual purpose of a resting place for the dead and a shelter for the living. The

¹⁰ W. A. Pickering, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.

Formosan told the writer that the old chief showed no fear of death. Pointing to the wooded slope of a near-by mountain, he said, "The spirits of my ancestors dwell among those trees, their bodies rest beneath this house. Why should I be afraid to join my own forefathers?" The aborigines generally observe a period of mourning, but custom differs in the several tribes. The Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Puyuma groups wear mourning dress. The personal belongings of the deceased are usually buried with the dead body.

Ancestor worship is probably the major part of the Atayal religion, although this tribe does pay attention to a rain-god who is responsible for the destructive storms which visit the mountains during the rainy season. When floods sweep over the land, the priestesses are apt to assemble and with long knives in their hands dance and shout defiantly. The dancing, arm-waving women work themselves up into a frenzy and keep slashing the air with their knives until they fall in a faint. When the rain ceases and the floodwaters recede, the people shout for joy and celebrate the victory of the priestesses over their common enemy, the rain-god.

Yami: The primitives living on the little island of Botel Tobago or Koto-Sho differ in religious customs from their northern neighbors, the tribes of Formosa. The Yami observe a religious festival twice a year, but they pay homage to a sea-god who guided their forefathers safely across the sea from an unknown country far to the south. In fact, the Yami may have come originally from one of the Philippine Islands, for this group bears a resemblance to several Filipino tribes.

The ceremony in honor of the sea-god includes an offering of food and flowers which are cast upon the waves. The Yami are one of the very few peoples who do not use wine in connection with their religious ceremonies.

LESTER F. WARD AND SOCIAL PLANNING*

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● Today the world and its inhabitants seem to be in a state of complex bewilderment. "Where do we go from here?" is probably a central thought in the mind not only of every statesman but also of every intelligent citizen. That we are in the midst of a current of mighty social change which bears every indication of pushing us all rapidly downstream to the falls of social revolution is a fear that has gripped more than one great mind. Cries of "a new social order" and "the old way of life has gone forever" are heard almost continuously from public forums. Anxiety and fear beset all, especially the youthful who, watching the faces of their perplexed elders, see a future rocked and shaken with turbulence and murky mistiness. Rightfully, they may ask for the reasons which lie behind the seemingly chaotic state of things, and rightfully, too, they may ask what is the matter with modern human intelligence if it be no longer able to solve its problems and plan for a better and more secure future.

Planning for the future is not a new idea in the world, but it is an idea which in our own times has been met by many with distrust and even hatred. Just why this should be so is not always entirely clear. True, charges of bureaucracy, regimentation, and dictatorship have accompanied the opposition's arguments against planning. What would be thought of an individual who had voiced neither plan nor goal for the future? And every organized group has started with a plan and a goal. The religionists have

* It is appropriate that attention be called at this time to the fact that Lester F. Ward may be considered in a very real sense the father of modern scientific social planning, for it was a hundred years ago (in 1841) that Lester F. Ward was born; hence this year is the centenary of his birth.

planned for a better life here or hereafter. The naturalists have sought to find a plan in Nature and planned to interfere or co-operate with it in one way or another. The educators have long been busy planning for the growth and future development of the child. The nationalists have planned for the future of nations, and the internationalists for a nice balance of power among the nations. The demographers have attempted to demonstrate plans for optimum populations, while the eugenisists have been toying with plans to insure quality in populations. Financiers have planned long and steadily and stealthily, too, for greater control of wealth. And architects have been drawing plans for years for the erection of more beautiful, imposing, and useful edifices. There is nothing novel then about planning.

Some writers hold that social planning or planning for the general human welfare of society has been proposed in almost every age of which history takes account. If so, it must have been, in the past as in the present, by reformers or by prophets whose only rewards were the titles of visionaries or utopians, if not agitators. Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes in an illuminating article written last year has undertaken to show that social progress planning probably originated with reformers living at the time of the Feudal Age in Egypt, and that the first definite notion of consciously directed social development was embodied in the statements of the Greek philosopher Theognis (circa 550 B.C.) centering around the extension of the knowledge of the breeding of animals to human beings. The real ground-breakers in launching and popularizing the doctrine that man might consciously control the human future were, he declares, the long line of utopians from Plato to H. G. Wells.¹

¹ Harry Elmer Barnes, "Should Social Change Be Consciously Directed?" *Frontiers of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 50, pp. 106-7, January 15, 1940.

Mr. Christopher Lloyd has also written a stimulating and rather magnificent chapter on progress in his book, *Democracy and Its Rivals*. Here, he traces the idea of progress taking hold of the minds of men. Pointing out that the "idea of Progress and of Evolution" is an essential part of our mental equipment, he reasons that it is "essentially a humanist idea, because it regards the amelioration of man's lot as due to his own efforts."² However, the idea of progress, according to him, could not have been attained until such men as Descartes and Bacon had thrown off for mankind the bondage of fear and superstition. It remained for the eighteenth century, the Age of Enlightenment, to illuminate the meaning of the idea and for Condorcet, in particular, to show that the human race had the possibilities of marching on the road of truth and virtue and happiness.³

In the United States the name of Lester F. Ward looms brilliantly in the cause of the earliest promotion of the idea of making society telic. Inasmuch as the year 1941 marks the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, it is appropriate to recall something of the vigorous emphasis which he placed upon his proposals to secure a "scientific control of the social forces" and of his discontent with a leadership that accepted the idea of an evolutionary determinism and saw man as the slave and not the master of relentless and ruthless evolutionary forces. His name, in connection with modern social planning, has been much neglected.

Inspired by the work and efforts of August Comte, founder of sociology and one who in turn had been inspired by the great Condorcet, Ward wholeheartedly agreed that sociology could be the master and disciplinarian of all the social sciences and that as such it would be

² Christopher Lloyd, *Democracy and Its Rivals*, p. 198.

³ *Ibid.*, Part IV, Ch. I, "The Idea of Progress."

able to direct human destinies in search of happiness. It would yield man the power "to modify and direct the forces of nature for his own purposes."⁴

Ward knew that opposition would meet his or anyone else's attempts to plan for social progress. He foresaw the hatred vented against the modern ideas about social planning.

The utterance of progressive ideas is not welcomed, much less paid for. The lucrative employments are all non-progressive. Those who receive most labor solely for the maintenance of the existing order such as lawyers, judges, officers of government; and in civil life, merchants and various non-producing professions.⁵

And he adds, "Human progress is further defeated by man's ignorance of his own interests."⁶

It was clear to Ward that in dynamic sociology lay the key which would open the gates of human progress, and that it must come, not by the advocacy of any philosophy of *laissez faire*, but by man's own determination to achieve.

Why cry "Laissez-faire" as if society would ever work out its own progress? As well say to all inventors: Cease trying to control nature, let it alone and it will control itself; it will, if left undisturbed, work out, in its own good time, all the cotton-gins, reaping-machines, printing presses, and sandblasts that are needed.⁷

In this, he followed the ideas of Comte and his championship of man's ability to further his own progress through positivistic thinking.

Comte is no advocate of *laissez-faire*. Indeed, his whole work may be characterized as an argument against that doctrine. His eminently just and philosophical definition of the true criterion of all real science as its ability to foretell future unknown results from the coordination of present

⁴ Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1915), Vol. I, p. 58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

known phenomena, becomes, when applied to the last and greatest of the sciences, identical with that doctrine so constantly advocated in this work, that the future of human society is in its own hands, and that a great and rapid progress can be artificially attained through clear and accurate scientific foresight of the necessary effect of present human modifications.⁸

The attainment of human progress, or what he was pleased to define as that which secured the increase of human happiness, was to be made possible then only through control or "cold calculation" of the means and the results to be realized. This process might even entail sacrifice, for he declares with an underscored emphasis: "It is ready even to sacrifice temporary enjoyment for greater future enjoyment—the pleasure of a few for that of the masses."⁹ Many see eye to eye with Ward that planning for progress cannot be acquired without some consignments of present privileges. But the alternatives for not planning are just those that so often greet the individuals who are like the grasshoppers in the fable which tells how they finally had to rely upon the beneficence of the foreseeing ants during the storms of winter. Without prevision and application, misery, unrest, and revolt sternly await the victims. Dr. Barnes has echoed this when he writes: "We cannot have social planning without paying a price therefor in terms of some curtailment of pioneer individualism and freedom."¹⁰

Professor Barnes has undertaken also to point out two specific concepts closely concerned with social planning and which have been in use as tools by the sociologist for a good many years, namely, social change and social progress. Three others might be added to this: social evolution, social control, and social teleosis. Ward was cognizant of the utility of all of these and, indeed, popularized the last-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 468.

¹⁰ Harry Elmer Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

named concept. For him, too, the principle of evolution, acting as a law and guide, with the doctrine of meliorism as an incentive and motive power, was to serve in the "organization of all facts, forces, and phenomena into an orderly and connected system."¹¹ By this means social progress was to become reality itself. Meliorism, defined by him as humanitarianism minus sentiment, he held to be the most dynamic of principles, a control aiming not only to alleviate suffering but to create conditions under which human suffering could no longer exist.

Thus, for Ward, social progress was planned progress, a progress instituted and controlled by man for man and his own welfare.

It is, in short, the question whether the social system shall always be left to nature, always be genetic and spontaneous, and be allowed to drift listlessly on, intrusted to the by no means always progressive influences which have developed it and brought it to its present condition, or whether it shall be regarded as a proper subject of art, treated as other natural products have been treated by human intelligence, and made as much superior to nature, in this only proper sense of the word, as other artificial productions are superior to natural ones.¹²

Today, in these United States, it may be repeated, goes out a call for intelligent social planning on a greater scale than perhaps has ever been dreamed of before. We are faced with the task of building the greatest national defense of all times. And we are called upon to look well into the future to see to it that the great depression shall not again grip us and lead us into still another cataclysm. Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, who has given a major portion of his attention to social planning during the last decade, calls attention to three factors which are present and which indicate a speedy invocation: (1) "a crisis in modern society, resulting from

¹¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II, p. 468.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 633.

a changing civilization, the world over, and in particular a changing western culture"; (2) "a conflict in the more specific realm of free institutions such as nations have not faced for several centuries"; and (3) an "emergency and crisis in the United States such as will continue for some time to test the endurance of American institutions."¹³

Modern social planning in the United States, according to Professor Odum, is really "an extension and transubstantiation of the first great American experiment in social planning, namely the Constitution of the United States."¹⁴ It is fitting, therefore, that the modern sociologists should continue to contribute toward this in the spirit of the zeal of Lester F. Ward by focusing their social studies and bending their research efforts in such a way as to promote social action through the medium of planning techniques. Already they have been utilizing some of the concepts or tools useful in planning techniques. These concepts previously mentioned as social evolution, social change, social progress, social control, and social teleosis need only more refinement in their use perhaps. They, with other tools to be developed, may explain and demonstrate a more comprehensive utility of social planning. The adoption of the utopian spirit, "the feeling that society is capable of improvement and can be made over to realize a rational ideal,"¹⁵ needs to be manifested in their usefulness. Sociologists and all those interested in social planning phenomena need to know with Ward not only that the object of pure science is to predict but also that the object of prevision is application. Says Ward on the role of scientific men to faithful service in practical situations:

Scientific men are, from their very education, earnest men, and fully aroused to the importance of putting their knowledge to the best practi-

¹³ Howard W. Odum, *American Social Problems*, p. 433.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¹⁵ Joyce Oramel Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought*, p. 2.

cal use. Though making no professions of philanthropic principles, they really have the welfare of society more at heart than many who talk loudly of social reform. They only ask an opportunity to apply scientific principles to great things, and when this is offered they, as a rule, devote themselves completely and unreservedly to their work.¹⁶

The idea that the social planning of the future in the hands of scientific experts will one day lead the world out into the promised land of planned progress is, to say the least, intriguing and well worthy of thought and trial. Ward's optimism may yet bear the fruit of justification.

¹⁶ *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II, p. 583.

THE SIXTH WISH: FOR FREEDOM

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● It is improbable that any adult normal human being has not some notion of the concept of freedom. In every language this word is one of the most frequently used terms, though it may have different meanings to different persons or groups. We speak of political freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of the press. The stress we place upon this word seems to indicate that there is something fundamental in the notion of freedom, something dynamic with relation to human behavior.

In 1933-1934, while I was making a study of *solitaries*¹—human beings who are isolated socially or psychosocially to an abnormally high degree—I discovered that one of the most important factors in *solitarization*, that is, in the process of becoming isolated, was a wish for freedom. This was a desire to be free from social interference or restraint, to be let alone, not to be “bothered”; not to be imposed upon, coerced, or forced to do what one does not like; to be free to do as one pleases.

Pursuing my research, I came to the conclusion that this desire for freedom was found not only in extreme solitaries but also in all normal human beings. It seemed to me that it was one of the most basic urges. I was familiar with Thomas’ “four wishes,”² with Bogardus’ “fifth wish,”³ with Small’s “six interests,”⁴ with Sumner’s “four motives,”⁵ and with similar concepts of other sociologists

¹ Louis Petroff, *Solitaries and Solitarization* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1936).

² Security, new experience, recognition, response.

³ The wish to aid.

⁴ Health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, rightness.

⁵ Hunger, love, vanity, fear.

or psychologists. But none of these writers, with the possible exception of Charles Horton Cooley and E. A. Ross, had given weight to the desire for freedom as an important human motive. Cooley had devoted one paragraph to the idea, where he had regarded freedom as a *social ideal*, "that phase of the social ideal which emphasizes individuality."⁶ Ross had perhaps emphasized the dynamic role of freedom more than Cooley had. For at one place he says, "Naturally a man prefers to do as he pleases, and not as society pleases to have him do."⁷ Elsewhere he writes, "there is a passion for liberty. In some persons, in some races, there is an unruly spirit, strangely jealous of control, meeting pressure with an opposition out of all proportion to the price of obedience."⁸ Nevertheless, both Cooley and Ross appear to have referred to the wish for freedom more or less incidentally, with no intention of stressing it as a universal motive.

Is there, then, a separate and fundamental wish for freedom, or is the notion we have in mind included under the basic concepts now in vogue among sociologists and social psychologists, namely, Thomas' "four wishes" and Bogardus' "fifth wish"? Can the concept of freedom in itself be used in explaining some basic aspects of human behavior?

Perhaps before answering these questions it would be well to state briefly what we understand by the general term *wish*. Without dwelling much upon the biological or physiological "drives" or "tensions" which may underlie the various wishes, we may say that, on the positive side, when one wishes he wishes *for* something. That something for which one wishes may be any one or all of the following: an object, an external condition, an overt or a covert activity, or an internal condition or state of being.

⁶ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 46.

⁷ Edward Alsworth Ross, *Social Control*, 1901, p. 84.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

On the negative side, one wishes to escape, or to rid himself of an object, an activity, or a condition. A wish, in brief, is conative behavior (overt or covert), a striving for or toward something, or a striving to escape something. But the emphasis is to be laid upon the positive aspect of conation, *striving for the possession or the achievement* of something.

From this standpoint, how may the wish for freedom be defined? Freedom has reference to absence of restraint, or suppression, or of repression. The *Century Dictionary* defines it as the "state or character of being free." It means exemption "from the constraint or restraint of physical or moral forces; the state of being able to act without external controlling interference." And *Americana*, referring to personal freedom, states,

In the modern democratic state, personal liberty exists as a recognition of the right of each individual, within limits, to do what he pleases without the constraint of his fellows, to go where he pleases, to work at whatever trade he pleases, and to own whatever property he can purchase.

In the light of the preceding conception of a wish and definition of freedom, the wish for freedom may now be defined as one's desire or striving for those conditions or states which he believes will contribute to his well-being. In this light, we might say that the desire for freedom is the most fundamental of human wishes. It is the wish for the conditions under which, as one believes, one might satisfy all his other wishes. (But this does not imply that he necessarily will obtain all these satisfactions even if he achieves the conditions he desires.)

It must be observed further that all one's other basic desires may be satisfied, while there may still exist an unsatisfied wish for freedom. To illustrate this point, let us take the college professor, although almost any person will serve this purpose. The college professor may have the opportunity to satisfy all his other basic desires, but

he still may have an unsatisfied wish for freedom. The writer has in mind a professor who was receiving a fairly high salary, who had congenial family life, whose students and friends liked him and even admired him. But he expressed his attitudes toward social, political, and economic problems rather freely; and he had some personal manners (falling under the *folkways*, not under the *mores*) which were not the socially standardized ways. It should be added that his friends and students liked him especially for his freedom of expression and his characteristic ways. But the institution by which he was employed did not approve of his behavior, and so he lost his position (as many others of his brethren have). "We do have freedom," says Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, "to say what everybody else is saying and freedom of worship if we do not take our religion too seriously. But teachers who do not conform to the established canons of social thought lose their jobs."⁹

With a view of the preceding notion of freedom and with the object of further showing the significance of the wish for freedom as a basic motive in human behavior, we may now touch briefly upon its various aspects.

Freedom in children. Recognizing the fact that small children are incapable of having definite wishes and bearing in mind that wishes, though based on biologically inherited structures, are socially conditioned, we might still observe in children aspects of the urge for freedom. Experimental psychologists have shown that when the child is interfered with or restrained, he puts forth an effort to free himself. Holding the child's head, arms, or legs, for instance, makes him scream and flash his arms or legs.

Angry behavior as seen in a child of one or two years is a surprising phenomenon. Prevented from doing what he wishes or forced to do something he does not wish, the child is likely to burst out into undirected

⁹ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 24, 1941, p. 2.

motor activity, jumping up and down and screaming; or he may struggle against the interfering person or object; or again he may attack that person or object.¹⁰

But, as such a small child has not yet become self-conscious, that is, has not become conscious of *its self* functioning in an environment, it would be stretching the idea too much to maintain that the child "wishes" for freedom or for anything else. Wishes become definite as the child grows older and becomes consciously aware of its self and its environment.

Freedom in primitives. In the most primitive social groupings the urge for freedom was little restrained. If, for instance, a person was injured, he had the freedom to avenge himself in any way he could.¹¹ In higher stages of primitive societies the urge was manifested in various forms. It is said that "the love of freedom was one of the [American] Indians' chief characteristics; and they suffered their personal liberty to be only slightly limited even by the authority of the chiefs and sachems."¹²

Writing of the American Indians, Edgar L. Hewett says, "The sense of individual freedom was too great to permit of dynastic government. It was always of a representative type."¹³ Elsewhere Dr. Hewett writes, "The one unquenchable objective of the human race has been the attainment of freedom."¹⁴

Margaret Mead tells that among the Manus of New Guinea all boys and girls regret their coming to maturity, for then they are initiated into adult status with all its responsibilities and restrictions of freedom.

Political and economic freedom. While it is not our object to dwell long upon the various notions of political

¹⁰ Robert S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, 1934, p. 310.

¹¹ See Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, 1938, pp. 177-92.

¹² Solon Justus Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 1917, p. 8.

¹³ *Ancient Life in the American Southwest*, 1930, pp. 23-24.

¹⁴ *Ancient Andean Life*, 1939, p. 26. Quoted also by E. S. Bogardus, *Sociology*, 1941.

and economic freedom, we might state in brief that the very fact that so much has been said and written about this form of freedom is suggestive of something basic in human nature. Long has been the struggle for political and economic freedom. Adam Smith, one of the early outstanding economists, maintained, for instance, that the individual should be accorded wide freedom in his economic undertakings; for personal interest not only creates and maintains the economic organization but also ensures social progress.

The "natural rights" philosophers—the outstanding among whom were Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau—held that all human beings were by nature free born, endowed with reason and the right to work out their own destinies. Self-development, according to these writers, was the most sacred of natural rights. The "state of nature" was a "state of freedom."

Here, as elsewhere, it must be observed that we are not evaluating these ideas of freedom from the standpoint of their validity; our object is merely to suggest that, since the concept of freedom has played such an important role in the thoughts and actions of men, it might rest on something basic in man.

In modern democratic states we speak of certain *rights*, among these being the "unalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Here we observe that the wish for freedom has crystallized into a right, into a fundamental law. Laws in themselves are, then, in support of the existence of an urge for freedom; they have a peculiarly paradoxical function: they both guarantee and curb personal freedom.

Freedom of belief, thought, and expression. Who is he that does not highly value these? How many from Europe and elsewhere have flocked to America in search of these! How many Socrates' have drunk the poison and how many

Christs have been crucified because they valued these freedoms more than they did their lives! In Plato's words, Socrates said to his judges, "Oh men of Athens, I say to you, do as Anytus bids or not as Anytus bids, and either acquit me or not; but whichever you do, understand that I shall never alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times."¹⁵ And Voltaire, having in mind not only his own freedom but also that of the other, writes, "I do not agree with a word that you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."¹⁶

The mere word freedom has acquired a strong sentimental, dynamic character. Appeal to the sentiment of freedom, and you start men doing things. They would die for liberty: "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."¹⁷ Only recently we have President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as many others, look "forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms."¹⁸ These are the freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of want, and freedom of fear.

Here, it must be stated again, we are emphasizing the dynamic, the motivating power of the *sentiment* of freedom, no matter who appeals to it—whether it be the statesman, the educator, the politician, the preacher, the poet, or the layman. "So deeply is the doctrine of liberty seated in our minds that we find it difficult to make allowances for the coercive practices of our misguided ancestors."¹⁹

In his work, art, religion, daily life, man seeks freedom to express himself. His desire for this freedom becomes a powerful sentiment.

Social freedom. In every society the person feels the direct or indirect restraint imposed upon him by the group.

¹⁵ Plato, "Apology of Socrates."

¹⁶ Quoted by Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy*, 1926, p. 271.

¹⁷ Patrick Henry, "Speech before the Virginia Convention."

¹⁸ Message to Congress, January 6, 1941, Washington, D.C.

¹⁹ John B. Bury, *A History of Freedom of Thought*, 1913, p. 235.

Vast cultures—folkways, customs, mores, laws, creeds, rituals, conventions, and the like—are built; all for curbing (as well as for protecting) the freedom of the individual. The normal person seeks freedom from responsibilities, cares, obligations, and restraints of every kind at least for a short time. He wants to be let alone a while, to belong to himself.

Our desires and purposes though social in their nature, are apt to be unacceptable on first appearance, and the more so in proportion to their value. Thus we feel a need to be let alone, and sympathize with a similar need in others.²⁰

Millions toil day after day at monotonous tasks, waiting and planning for their meager yearly vacations, though these may be but a few days or weeks. That is the time when they shall be free to do as they please! Even those who enjoy their work want to be free from it at different times.

Social interaction, even of the most pleasant type, if continued long becomes unpleasant, wearisome. Men feel the need for privacy, for solitude, for freedom.

Just as men can be satiated with too much eating and irritated by too much inactivity, so men become "fed up" with companionship. The demand for solitude and privacy is thus fundamentally a physiological demand, like the demand for rest.²¹

The pleasure of freedom. The feeling of being free is pleasant. An apparently sociable woman writes,

I, too, have experienced a sense of freedom when the train has pulled out of the station, bearing me away from the friends whom I love—dear friends! They are so good to me and I think of them with such affection, the while that, fleeing from them, I hug my freedom.²²

²⁰ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 46.

²¹ Irwin Edman, *Human Traits and their Social Significance*, 1920, p. 138.

²² A. F. Davis, "On Living Alone," *Scribner's*, 49:761-62.

Another, Mary Ellen Chase, expresses the same attitude even more forcefully:

We are even taking a vacation from affection, its importunities, its affirmations, its expectations. And who is there who does not occasionally need such a holiday? And who is there who does not secretly desire one if he had but the courage to take it?²³

Many find their best freedom in the companionship of Nature. William Hazlitt begins his famous essay "On Going a Journey" in these words, "One of the pleasantest things in the world is going a journey; but I like to go by myself. I can enjoy society in a room; but out of doors, nature is company enough for me." In his *Idle Days in Patagonia*, W. H. Hudson reports,

To my mind there is nothing in life so delightful as the feeling or relief, of escape, and absolute freedom which one experiences in a vast solitude, where man has perhaps never been, and has, at any rate, left no trace of his existence.²⁴

The poet—who frequently expresses the wishes and sentiments of all humanity—writes:

I know the desert is beautiful
I have come to her that I may know freedom;
.
To know that the law of Nature is freedom.²⁵

Personality types and freedom. The wish for freedom is often especially strong in men of genius and in highly isolated solitaries. Petrarch, one of the early solitaries, writes to the bishop of Cavaillon:

How much value, my father, do you set upon these common things; to live according to your pleasure, to go where you will, to stay where you will; in the spring to repose amid purple beds of flowers, in the autumn

²³ "Time to Oneself," *The Yale Review*, 30:128-40.

²⁴ P. 7.

²⁵ Charles E. S. Wood, "The Poet in the Desert," in *The New Poetry*, by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson, 1932, pp. 659-61.

amid heaps of fallen leaves; . . . To belong to yourself, . . . not to be driven along, not to be dashed aside, not be dragged to a banquet when you prefer not to eat or to be forced to speak when you rather be silent. . . .²⁶

Rousseau wrote:

I have never been truly accustomed to civil society where all is worry, obligation, duty, and where my natural independence renders me always incapable of subjections necessary to whoever wishes to live among men. So long as I act freely, I am good and do nothing but good; but, as soon as I feel the yoke, whether of necessity, or of men, I become a rebel or rather, restive: then I am nothing.²⁷

Men like Goethe, Byron, and Walt Whitman, with other strong desires, also want ample freedom. In his work *Stella* Goethe puts these words in Fernando's mouth:

I should be a fool to allow myself to be fettered [in wedlock]. This condition stifles all my powers; this condition robs my soul of all of its courage; it shuts me in. I must get out into the free world.²⁸

In his *Leaves of Grass* Walt Whitman reveals not only his own strong wish for freedom but those of the whole American people. To him everything was good. No morality bound him. Regarding his not marrying, he said once, "I had an instinct against forming ties that would bind me."²⁹ In his later years, after a period of illness, he often retired into the woods. "Every day at least two or three hours of freedom, bathing, no talk, no bonds, no dress, no books, no manners."³⁰

²⁶ Francesco Petrararch, *The Life of Solitude*, translated by Jacob Zeitlin (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1924), p. 149.

²⁷ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Reveries of a Solitary* (London: George Routledge and Sons, n.d.), p. 132.

²⁸ Quoted by Albert Bielschowsky, *The Life of Goethe* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), Vol. I, p. 222.

²⁹ Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman, His Life and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1906), p. 270.

³⁰ Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

Emerson's essay on "Self-Reliance" could also be termed an essay on personal freedom. "Society everywhere," he said, "is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members."

In a similar strain, Thoreau advises (himself), "As long as possible live free and uncommitted."³¹ In another place he writes:

I love Nature partly because she is not man, but a retreat from him. None of his institutions control or pervade her. Here a different kind of right prevails. In her midst I can be glad with an entire gladness. If this world were all man, I could not stretch myself. I should lose all hope. He is constraint; she is a freedom to me. He makes me wish for another world; she makes me content with this. None of the joys she supplies is subject to his rules and definitions. What he touches he taints. In thought he moralizes. . . .³²

Many of the extremely isolated contemporary solitaries whom the writer studied in southern California manifested an abnormally strong wish for freedom. One of them, for instance, who at the time of the study (1933) had tied himself to a piece of desert land, was quite unhappy over his condition:

If I could sell my land I'm going to buy me a boat and sail over the seas. I might take with me five or six fellows and then we'll go to look for an island where we can live alone. I want an island that is not owned by any government, because I don't want to be bothered by governments. I'm not a citizen of any country and I don't want to be. I don't need governments; I run away from them. I don't like hindrances. If I go to some island, I don't want to lose my independence. I'll own the boat and will go wherever I like and stay as long as I want.³³

Conclusions. The wish for freedom, we may conclude, is a normal, universal wish. Though traces of it are observed in higher animals and in small children, it is essentially cultural, as all the other wishes are. But it be-

³¹ Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1906), p. 93.

³² Henry David Thoreau, *Winter* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1887), p. 106.

³³ Writer's collections, Solitary No. 10.

comes abnormally strong in some people, especially in those who live more or less solitary lives. Its overdevelopment in such cases is very likely due to the thwarting of the other wishes. The more one's other wishes are thwarted, the greater wish for freedom he may have. The so-called "radicals" are frequently people whose wishes have been thwarted and who want freedom as compensation. Many of the "Bohemians" seek the conditions of freedom in the large cities where they may do as they please without hindrance.³⁴

It is obvious that a fair amount of freedom is necessary to the development of a healthy, balanced personality, and to a healthy society, for that matter. The hypothesis may safely be advanced that no person or society can reach a high level of development without an adequate amount of freedom.

³⁴ See Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 70, 99.

COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATIONS AND UNANIMISM*

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● One of the most striking correspondences between literature, science, and philosophy is to be found in contemporary France. This is the parallelism between the sociology of Émile Durkheim and the literature of Jules Romains, who is internationally conceded to be one of the great dramatists and novelists of our day. It is the more significant that the correspondence of thought is unconscious and involuntary.

The object of research in the sociology of Durkheim and the works of Jules Romains is a single reality—the group consciousness. Neither insists upon a social mind in any material sense. For both, however, there does exist a social mind, in the sense that a concourse of more-than-one individual consciousnesses is something more than a sum of these; it is the sum of these plus the effects of their interaction. Society is essentially constituted by a collective consciousness, which is not a material phenomenon, since it resides in no specific organism, but which is a real fact of a psychic order. Society is a psychic reality *sui generis*, derived from the creative synthesis which takes place when individual consciousnesses interact, combine, and modify one another. The individual consciousnesses in interaction are not merely an aggregate; as in chemical synthesis, the elements, in compounding, produce a new entity.

The content of the collective consciousness is a continuum of collective representations, just as the individual

* An abstract of a portion of a doctoral dissertation accepted by the Department of Sociology, The University of Southern California, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

consciousness is a continuum of individual representations. Individual ideas are facts of individual experience transformed and transmitted symbolically to the individual consciousness. Collective ideas are the facts of collective experience transformed and transmitted by means of symbols to the collective consciousness.

The word "representation" is used in philosophical and psychological thought to express the transmission to the subjective consciousness of the fact of exterior objects. Representations, which occur in a hierarchy of complexity, namely, as sensations, images, and concepts, are thus considered to be the essence of individual mental life. Representations presuppose a consciousness, or continuity of mental states, that which constitutes the ego, the self.

When the term is carried over into social psychology, it belongs to a definite school of thought, modern French sociology. The expression "collective representations" has been used by its originator, Émile Durkheim, to denote the units of the process of group thinking. That is to say that Durkheim believes that an ensemble of collective representations forms the entire content of the collective, or group, consciousness, just as an ensemble of individual representations forms the entire content of the individual consciousness.

There is a hierarchy of collective representations which is analogous to that of individual representations. A simple collective representation is the product of many individual representations interacting and combining; such is, for example, a coin or a stamp, neither of which would have significance for an isolated individual. Many simple collective representations interact and combine to form higher collective representations; the representations of coin and stamp, along with many other similar representations, may combine to form a representation of government or of commerce. Or, again, an example of an elemen-

tary collective representation is an actual court of justice. This is a fact of group experience. Its representation within the group consciousness must be the resultant of the fusion of many individual representations. The representation of "court of justice" must be collective, since it would be an occurrence impossible for an isolated human consciousness.

When the representation of "court of justice," which is a concrete object, comes into contact within the social mind with other representations, such as the notion of right and wrong, or of the relationship of the individual to society, these may all combine in such a way as to produce a new collective representation, but one which is infinitely more complex, being compounded of more elements, most of which are abstract. It is thus that we should arrive at the concept of Justice, which is a collective representation of the highest order.

All collective representations are products of other collective representations which have been accumulated within the group mind and transmitted as the culture of that group. Higher social representations consist almost entirely of concepts and of abstract ideas. Individuals taken separately acquire many simple percepts, that is, either sensations or images, derived from objects exterior to their consciousnesses. But large numbers of individuals, although stimulated simultaneously by an identical object, will not all be stimulated in an identical fashion, because of dissimilar past individual experiences. The effect of the object upon the group as a whole must be a fusion of all the individual resultants. We see, therefore, that collective representations are at once more general and more complex than are individual representations.

Any representation, individual or collective, is simply the expression of a relationship between the subject representing and the object, or fact, of experience repre-

sented. When an individual says, "This means nothing to me," he is merely stating the fact that he, the subject, finds no relationship between himself and the external object to which his attention is being directed. In other words, he finds nothing in his past experience, in his individual memory, by which he may classify it in his mind. Similarly, we may say that a certain object of our civilization, such as an orchestral symphony, for example, has no value for a "primitive" group. This is true because there is nothing in the past experience of that group, that is, in its body of culture, its social memory, to which the symphony may be related. Just as individual memory consists of a stock of past representations, stored and classified according to the elements of representation, which we term also the categories of the understanding (time, space, relation, number, efficient causality, finality), so the collective memory, which we describe as tradition or culture, consists of past collective representations.

Although Durkheim finds collective representations analogous to individual representations, he finds also that the first must be governed by laws other than those governing individual representations, for while the substratum of the individual consciousness is physiological, being the cerebrum itself, the substratum of the collective consciousness resides in no particular body.

Society, a creative synthesis, appears as a psychic being superior to the individuals who have contributed to its formation, by reason of the fact that, while it partakes of the nature of each individual consciousness, it does not partake exclusively of the nature of any one particular consciousness. The individual does not recognize it for his own; collective representations appear, and are, exterior to the individual consciousnesses. Being composite and synthetic, they become imperative and vested with moral authority and constraint. Thus they form a unity emi-

nently rich in intellectual and spiritual energy, from which individuals draw their own intellectual and spiritual existence.

Social life, consisting above all of representations, is the origin of the intellectual life and ethical conduct of the individual. From it are derived the basic elements of judgment, known as the categories of the understanding. The isolated individual would have no need of notions of space, time, or of causality, for example. It is only with group life that they acquire significance. Similarly, ethical conduct presupposes a plurality of consciousnesses. It is the group itself that is the object of individual respect and devotion; it is invested with moral authority and exercises constraint over the individual. In this way, collective representations may be regarded as the social forces, for it is they that determine, from within and without the individual consciousness, the mode of being of the group members.

From the complexes of collective representations are derived the ideals by which society evolves, for they maintain the social being in a continued state of re-creation. It is the dynamic character of collective representations that produces social change. Chief among all collective representations is the idea which the society forms of itself, but, since society is a continual becoming, the idea which it forms of itself does not, in general, correspond with reality. It corresponds rather with that toward which the society is tending. Since the ideal is only the elements of the real combined in a new and synthetic way, there can be no ideal society in the absolute sense; each particular society has its own form of the ideal, and it is this which determines the nature of the group ethics and group religion.

Collective representations are the data of collective experience considered subjectively by the collective consciousness. To the individual consciousness they appear

objectively as social facts, characterized by exteriority and constraint, and imbued with great psychic energy, by virtue of which the individual is moved to act as a social member. Their simultaneously subjective and objective nature, according as they are comprehended by the collective consciousness or by the individual consciousness, causes them to partake at once of the real and of the ideal, so that the totality of collective representations at a given time in a given society is not only that which the society is but also that which the society will become.

The elements of the concept of collective representations, a concept which has been used as a tool by contemporary French sociologists, are to be found in the literary philosophy and technique known as unanimism. Jules Romains, the great poet-novelist, had become aware that as men were passing from country to city to earn their living, that as they were living closer to one another than formerly, and that as they were experiencing the impact of the new industrial and mechanical regime, they were being forced to think in terms of the social group member rather than in terms of the individual. In order to describe the new tendencies of modern life, as well as its aesthetic expression, Jules Romains formulated, in 1903, the term "unanimism" going back to the essential meaning of the two words *unus*, meaning "single," or "one," and *animus*, which connotes the rational soul or intellectual principle of life in man.

Unanimism is the literary movement which is the aesthetic expression of unanimous life. But, before it is a literary theory and technique, it is a metapsychology, a philosophy which seeks to define the nature of the relationships between the individual and the group, and the bases of the ascendancy which the collectivity exercises over its elements. As a social philosophy, unanimism is primarily a posture of mind, a specific point of view, and one, more-

over, which Jules Romain believes will characterize twentieth-century thought in general. It rests upon two postulates: (1) the belief that there exists a collective psychic reality *sui generis*, superior to the individuals that compose it, because it is a psychic continuum of which individuals are emanations; and (2) the belief that it is possible for the individual to enter into direct, immediate, and intuitive contact with this being, which Jules Romain calls the *unanime*.

The unanimist philosophy finds expression in the poetry, plays, and novels of Jules Romain. In each of these, of which the best known is the novel, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, translated into English as *Men of Good Will*, the subject is one of the widest generality. In these works, characterized by impersonality and anonymity, the protagonist is never an individual alone, but a social group seized in its collective aspect. The unanimist works in general deal with the genesis, life-span, or death of collective representations within the collective consciousness. In this literature groups are found in varying phases of development, ranging from rudimentary and amorphous *unanimes*, such as a street crowd, to the higher forms, such as a group of friends, the couple, the family, or the city, which is the highest form of *unanime* in evidence today. The highest possible form is a universal republic, embracing all humanity, but, as yet, this is only the unanimist dream.

In the works of Jules Romain we are not participating in the physical nature of the social group, but in the group consciousness. We are examining the group idea, the idea-force which is the reason for the group's existence. Literature, according to Jules Romain, should reflect life; it cannot, therefore, present a single individual as its nucleus, for life is the existence of collectivities. Life is psychic continuity; it is set within neither the spatial

limits of an individual nor his temporal limits nor his duration. The true individual is a social group, the *unanime*. A collectivity possesses those attributes which we ordinarily accredit to an individual: personality, limits in space, time, and duration; birth, life-span, and death; it contains energy which is transformed into action; its energy is not only of physical nature, but also of psychic nature derived from consciousness. A *unanime* is a collectivity existing through the force of an idea, or complex of ideas.

An example of this is a legend called *Le bourg régénéré*. It is the tale of the resurrection of a city, the spark of whose life was an idea. The principal characters are a group of people and a group of words. In the beginning the town was a rudimentary *unanime*; it lacked consciousness; collectively it was empty of thought; it lacked personality; it lacked attractiveness. But one day a young stranger, wandering through the city, remembers the fun he and his comrades used to have in writing revolutionary statements on public buildings. Passing one of these, he is seized with the impulse to do the same thing now. A fragment of speech comes to his mind; on a wall of the edifice, he scribbles the words:

He who possesses lives at the expense of the one who labors; whoever does not produce the equivalent of that which he consumes is a social parasite.¹

The young man walks on, thinking no more about it. Yet, within a few hours, the idea which he had written on the public building had penetrated the consciousnesses of those who had passed by. The retired business man wished to return to work; it was a disgrace to be a parasite. The toymaker was going to inscribe on all his dolls, trains, and soldiers the motto: "Earn Thy Bread." The baker's ap-

¹ Jules Romain, *Le bourg régénéré*, bound with *Le voyage des amants* (Paris: Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française, 1920), p. 17.

prentices toiling late at night became aware of social injustice: those who bought the fruit of their labors were living at their (the laborers') expense.

In a short time the city was completely reformed. Everyone became interested in capital, labor, exploitation of the resources of the city; a new industry was established; factories were built; the city became an agricultural center, a market town. The individual inhabitant became seized with desires, ambitions, and unsuspected faculties. The mayor, for example, could not understand his own *metamorphosis*; he could not comprehend the reason for his disinterested devotion to public affairs:

And he had reason to be stupefied. It was not his own nature which was thus enriching itself. That bit of collective soul which he sheltered within himself was stirring along with the rest of that soul parcelled out in the other men. He did not understand it, and retained the illusory impression of being spontaneously transformed.²

This, then, is the true relationship between the individual and the *unanime*; the *unanime* takes elements from each particular consciousness and returns them transformed. Because of its very exteriority, a collective representation imposed itself, with the force accruing from its psychic energy, upon the very elements which had served to bring it about. The idea developed in *Le bourg ré-généré* conforms in every detail with the definition of social facts given by Durkheim:

A social fact is any way of doing, fixed or not, capable of exercising upon the individual an exterior constraint; and, moreover, one which is general throughout the extent of a given society while having at the same time an existence peculiar to itself, and independent of its individual manifestations.³

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ Emile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (Paris: Félix Acan, éditeur, 1895), p. 19.

The object of unanimist literature coincides with the object matter of the sociology of Durkheim: it is group life on the level of consciousness. By a common emphasis upon the hyperspiritual nature of social life; upon the psychic energy of collective thought; upon society as the origin of knowledge and ethics; upon the apotheosis of the group, but a group conscious of itself and of its responsibility; upon the real existence of a collective consciousness which has no single organic substratum, but which is exclusively a creative synthesis and, as such, a psychic continuum, the unanimism of Jules Romain and the sociology of Émile Durkheim mutually support each other and bear witness to the unanimist nature of collectivity today.

Psychosocial life is an uninterrupted existence of group ideas. Durkheim maintained that social life consists of a continuum of representations so interwoven that it is impossible to establish the limits of any one representation, which is really only a convenience of speech. Jules Romain likewise insists that all human life is enveloped in a psychic continuum, called Unanimous Being. Since social life consists of thought, it follows that it must be in a perpetual state of creation by itself. There is no inertia of consciousness. Every change presupposes a causal efficiency. For both Durkheim and Romain, social life is process, a continual becoming, for the reason that social life is characterized by its spirituality.

The unanimism of Romain and the sociological concept of Durkheim are creators of order. If the poet-novelist and the sociologist are preoccupied, independently of each other and unaware of any relationship of thought, with the analysis of collective ideation, it is because they both believe that society contains within itself, in contiguous existence, the real and the ideal. By the idea which it has of itself, an idea which does not always correspond

to the actual state of the society, it continues to emerge from itself. A self-conscious society is a telic society.

It follows from this sociological concept and from this literary ideal that the solution to problems of the individual lies in concerted action of the collectivity as well as in the harmonious relationship of the individual to society. The strength of a society lies in the recognition and acceptance by the individual of the moral and intellectual superiority of the group, but of the group rendered self-conscious through rational solidarity. The pivotal fact in the sociology of Durkheim and the literature of Romain Rolland is not the phenomenon of collectivity itself, but a *self-conscious* collectivity.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS ANNOYING TO CHILDREN

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● Ability to adjust is considered a sign of intelligence and maturity. This includes adjustment not only to one's social environment but also to the physical environment. The purpose of this report is to present the reactions of children to the inconveniences and annoyances, animals and insects, and environmental conditions which they have to face in their daily experiences.

The subjects comprised 145 sixth-grade boys and 140 girls from two suburban elementary public schools of Cincinnati. Ninety-nine per cent of the children were native born. Seventy per cent of the children were Jewish, 27 per cent non-Jewish, and 3 per cent colored. Their average chronological age was 11 years and 8 months, and their average mental age, according to the Otis Group Intelligence Scale, Advanced Examination, Form B, was 14 years. The socioeconomic background was a little below very high on the Sims Score Card.

Two hundred and eighty-five sixth-grade children were asked to list all things which annoy, irritate, and bother them. These items were classified under social relationships, health and appearance, home and family, school, hobbies and interests, foods, personal conduct, games and amusements, fears, inconveniences and annoyances, animals and insects, and environmental conditions.

The following year the material was presented to 285 sixth-grade children of the same school, described above. The material, in the form of separate tests for boys and girls, provided for five different degrees of feeling toward every item listed. These were *like, don't mind, don't like,*

hate, and *hate much*. The children were asked to encircle the expression that best described their feeling toward each thing listed. The material was tabulated, changed to per cents, and arranged according to frequency for *hate*

TABLE I
ATTITUDES OF 145 BOYS TOWARD INCONVENIENCES AND ANNOYANCES

ITEM	PER CENT				
	<i>Like</i>	<i>Don't Mind</i>	<i>Don't Like</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Hate Much</i>
1. A flat tire on my bike	2.2	3.7	16.3	25.9	55.6
2. Bad smells	1.4	3.0	17.8	27.4	54.8
3. Doing things I don't like	0.7	7.4	25.2	27.4	40.0
4. To have disappointments	2.2	8.2	33.4	23.0	37.8
5. Not get what was promised	8.2	12.6	23.7	23.0	37.0
6. To put hand in spider web	3.0	15.5	29.6	17.8	34.8
7. An electric shock	6.7	17.8	23.0	23.7	31.1
8. Squeaky seats	5.9	12.6	26.7	22.2	30.4
9. To be teased	4.4	20.0	27.4	19.3	29.6
10. To be thrown into lake	16.3	20.7	18.5	15.5	28.9
11. To be interrupted	2.2	14.8	40.7	16.3	26.7
12. To be bothered when doing something	1.4	9.1	37.0	28.9	26.7
13. When I can't go places	9.6	17.0	27.4	21.5	26.7
14. To be hurried	5.9	19.3	30.4	21.5	24.5
15. Hear someone grit teeth	4.4	32.6	25.9	16.3	23.7
16. Get snow down my back	9.6	25.9	30.4	12.6	23.0
17. To stop playing	3.0	9.6	17.8	14.8	22.2
18. To fall down	3.0	24.5	31.9	19.3	22.2
19. Hear loud radios	12.0	19.6	28.9	16.3	21.5
20. Noise	9.6	28.1	22.2	21.5	21.5
21. Radio on while studying	25.9	23.0	18.5	15.5	21.5
22. To walk under a ladder	9.1	44.1	18.5	8.2	20.7
23. Gold teeth	9.1	27.4	30.4	14.1	20.7
24. Old jokes	19.3	27.4	21.5	17.0	17.8
25. Soiled books	2.2	17.0	46.7	17.8	17.0
26. Tricks played on me	7.4	34.8	19.3	17.0	18.5
27. To wait for someone	13.5	43.0	22.2	9.6	13.5
28. To tie my shoestrings	26.7	58.5	8.2	3.7	5.7
Per cent	7.8	20.9	24.8	18.5	25.9

much. This paper is a report of the material classified under inconveniences and annoyances, animals and insects, and environmental conditions.

The boys' attitudes. Quite a number of the boys are easily irritated by inconveniences and annoyances which they experience. Table I shows that over two thirds of the boys *don't like, hate, or hate much* the things listed. They are especially disturbed by a flat tire on their bicycles, bad smells, doing things they don't like, disappointments, and not getting what was promised them. They also hate squeaky seats, an electric shock, to be teased, and to be thrown into a lake. Other irritations include being bothered when doing something, having the radio on while studying, noise, and the gritting of teeth. While some boys are annoyed by these things, others are indifferent, and some even like them.

TABLE II
ATTITUDES OF 145 BOYS TOWARD ANIMALS AND INSECTS

ITEM	PER CENT				
	<i>Like</i>	<i>Don't Mind</i>	<i>Don't Like</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Hate Much</i>
1. Dead animals	3.0	11.1	20.0	17.8	49.6
2. Dead dogs	3.7	9.6	20.7	20.0	48.1
3. Roaches	5.7	6.7	21.5	23.7	45.9
4. Mosquitoes	5.9	13.5	18.5	25.9	41.5
5. Rats	4.4	9.1	17.1	34.1	40.7
6. Flies	1.4	5.7	25.2	28.9	40.0
7. Bugs	2.2	8.2	25.2	28.9	39.3
8. Insects	3.0	11.1	31.8	26.7	31.8
9. A biting dog	7.4	12.0	29.6	21.5	30.4
10. Ants	14.8	23.7	24.7	17.0	24.4
11. A dog barking	16.3	46.7	17.1	9.1	14.8
12. To bathe the dog	27.4	47.4	13.5	3.7	11.1
13. Cats	27.4	45.2	15.5	5.7	9.1
14. To watch my dog	57.0	29.6	3.7	2.2	5.9
Per cent	12.4	19.2	19.5	18.2	29.8

The popular belief that only girls are annoyed by animals and insects is not supported by the evidence in Table II, which shows that dead animals, roaches, mosquitoes, rats, bugs, insects, and flies are hated by two thirds of the boys.

But less than half of the boys are especially sensitive to their physical environment as shown by temperature or space. They hate to be in stuffy rooms or to stay in the house, and they dislike hot or gloomy days or dark clouds. (Table III)

The girls' attitudes. In general, girls seem to be more easily annoyed than boys. Almost 80 per cent of the girls marked the inconveniences and annoyances, listed in Table IV, *don't like*, *hate*, or *hate much*. Of these, the most annoying things seem to be to break their bicycles, to lose something, and not to be permitted to play outside.

TABLE III
ATTITUDES OF 145 BOYS TOWARD ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

ITEM	PER CENT				
	<i>Like</i>	<i>Don't Mind</i>	<i>Don't Like</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Hate Much</i>
1. To be in stuffy rooms	7.4	8.2	38.1	26.7	32.6
2. Scorching hot days	17.8	19.3	24.4	17.0	25.9
3. To stay in the house	7.4	16.2	31.8	20.0	23.0
4. Dark clouds	5.9	31.8	28.9	14.8	21.5
5. A gloomy day	11.1	27.4	23.7	21.5	19.3
6. Monday morning	25.2	38.5	9.6	11.1	17.8
7. Rain	20.7	37.0	21.5	8.2	17.0
8. Cold weather	14.1	42.2	17.0	15.5	15.5
9. Winter	31.8	37.1	8.2	8.2	14.1
10. To climb steps	9.1	60.0	17.8	9.1	9.6
11. A strong draft	22.2	42.2	14.1	14.8	9.6
12. To cross streets	12.6	71.9	9.6	4.4	6.7
13. Snow	56.3	32.6	3.7	3.7	6.7
14. Autumn	53.3	34.1	8.2	3.0	5.9
Per cent	20.4	34.3	17.0	12.3	15.6

TABLE IV

ATTITUDES OF 140 GIRLS TOWARD INCONVENIENCES AND ANNOYANCES

ITEM	PER CENT				
	<i>Like</i>	<i>Don't Mind</i>	<i>Don't Like</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Hate Much</i>
1. To have my bicycle break	0.7	0.0	18.5	30.4	56.3
2. To lose something	0.0	3.0	22.2	30.4	48.9
3. When I can't play outside	3.0	13.5	20.7	23.0	45.2
4. To have my hair pulled	0.0	5.9	29.6	23.7	41.5
5. When I can't go swimming....	13.5	9.1	20.0	19.3	41.5
6. To stop in middle of a story	1.4	4.4	23.7	31.1	40.7
7. To be punched	2.2	6.7	21.5	31.1	40.7
8. Noise when I sleep	0.7	12.0	21.5	30.4	38.5
9. Squeaky chalk	3.0	12.0	19.3	30.4	34.1
10. To have to stay in bed	2.2	9.1	22.2	30.4	39.3
11. Things I can't do	9.1	14.1	24.5	20.7	32.6
12. A bad fountain pen	1.4	4.4	33.3	34.8	32.6
13. To hear people grit their teeth	2.2	22.2	23.0	24.4	31.1
14. To be disturbed when I study	1.4	11.1	34.1	26.7	29.6
15. To stop when playing	4.4	12.6	37.2	20.0	29.6
16. To have someone read over my shoulder	3.7	25.9	21.5	20.7	29.6
17. To be interrupted when busy	0.0	0.0	40.7	23.0	28.1
18. To drop a mirror	6.7	22.2	21.5	23.0	28.1
19. To wait a long time	7.4	27.4	16.3	5.7	27.4
20. To hear people yell	4.4	20.7	26.7	25.9	27.4
21. To be awakened from sleep	1.4	19.3	31.1	24.4	25.9
22. A scratching sound	5.9	22.2	27.4	19.3	25.2
23. Lights on when I sleep	12.0	22.2	30.4	17.8	22.2
24. To miss a bus	0.0	14.8	25.9	41.5	21.5
25. Weeds in woods	8.2	33.3	25.2	12.6	20.0
26. To be disturbed	0.0	19.3	43.0	23.0	17.8
27. First row of a show	26.7	20.0	23.0	23.0	17.0
28. When someone watches me draw	4.4	34.1	19.3	19.3	15.5
29. To touch dusty potatoes	9.6	46.0	23.0	14.8	9.6
30. To get up on a cold day	25.9	23.7	21.5	22.2	11.1
Per cent	5.2	16.6	24.8	23.2	28.9

Other items that are disliked by many girls are to have their hair pulled, to be punched, to hear people grit their teeth, to stop in the middle of a story, noise when they sleep, squeaky chalk, to hear people yell, and to be disturbed when studying.

Almost 80 per cent of the girls are disturbed by animals and insects. (Table V) The most disagreeable items are to have bugs crawl down their backs, to see animals bleeding, to be stung by bees, to see dead snakes, spiders, dangerous animals, and bats.

TABLE V
ATTITUDES OF 140 GIRLS TOWARD ANIMALS AND INSECTS

ITEM	PER CENT				
	<i>Like</i>	<i>Don't Mind</i>	<i>Don't Like</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Hate Much</i>
1. To see animals bleeding	0.0	3.0	10.3	20.0	68.9
2. To have bugs crawl down my back	0.7	17.0	13.5	23.0	65.2
3. To lose my dog	0.7	0.7	20.0	22.2	59.2
4. Spiders	0.0	1.4	14.8	28.9	57.8
5. Be stung by bees	0.0	2.2	14.1	28.9	54.8
6. See dead snakes	0.7	8.2	13.5	26.7	53.3
7. Bats	1.4	12.0	15.5	24.5	59.6
8. Mosquito bites	0.0	3.0	18.5	33.3	45.9
9. Dangerous animals	2.2	10.3	16.3	32.6	45.2
10. Have my dog run away	3.0	4.4	25.9	27.4	43.0
11. Mosquitoes	0.0	4.4	20.7	36.3	42.2
12. Flies	0.0	11.1	23.0	28.9	40.7
13. See big boy bother dogs	0.0	4.4	20.7	31.1	39.3
14. Spider webs	2.2	9.6	21.5	31.9	36.3
15. To see dogs fight	3.0	5.9	35.6	28.9	30.4
16. Bugs	3.7	21.5	34.8	23.7	28.2
17. Ants	6.7	17.0	31.1	20.0	24.5
18. To hear dogs bark	8.2	48.9	22.2	15.5	10.3
19. Cats	42.2	32.6	14.1	9.1	9.1
20. To get near a dog	49.7	43.0	7.4	3.0	8.8
21. To take dog for a walk	48.1	21.5	9.1	7.4	5.9
Per cent	7.9	13.1	18.5	23.1	37.7

Sixty-five per cent of the girls are disturbed by such factors in their physical environment as bad smells, stuffy places, foggy days, icy streets, and cold or hot days. (Table VI)

Sex differences. A comparison of boys with girls shows that more girls than boys are annoyed by inconveniences, animals and insects, and other environmental factors; but there is a significant difference, showing that boys are more annoyed by bugs and by disappointments.

Summary. An analysis of children's attitudes toward inconveniences and annoyances, animals and insects, and environmental conditions shows that many of them are disturbed by various things in their environment. More girls than boys are annoyed by these factors.

TABLE VI

ATTITUDES OF 140 GIRLS TOWARD ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

ITEM	PER CENT				
	<i>Like</i>	<i>Don't Mind</i>	<i>Don't Like</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Hate Much</i>
1. To smell dead rats	0.7	2.2	6.0	22.2	65.9
2. Bad smells	1.4	4.4	19.3	25.9	51.1
3. Rain on Saturday or Sunday	3.7	14.8	24.5	21.5	37.2
4. Stuffy places	0.0	3.0	30.4	30.4	37.0
5. A foggy day	2.2	14.1	33.3	25.2	29.6
6. To be cold	3.0	19.3	28.1	23.0	28.1
7. Icy streets	12.0	17.8	24.5	23.7	26.7
8. To ride on streetcars	13.5	33.3	17.0	20.7	20.7
9. Very hot days	17.8	20.7	20.7	20.7	19.3
10. To walk in rain	33.3	28.1	14.8	12.6	17.0
11. When wind howls at night....	15.5	38.5	14.8	14.8	17.8
12. To have it rain	15.5	34.8	19.3	12.6	16.5
13. Go out in cold weather	22.2	34.8	16.3	11.1	16.5
14. Cold weather	19.3	33.3	17.8	14.8	15.5
15. To play indoors	17.0	34.8	24.5	14.0	14.8
16. Hail	20.7	39.2	15.5	12.6	12.6
Per cent	11.9	22.5	19.7	18.5	25.7

Educational implications. Children should not be subjected to unnecessary annoyances, but they should be trained to overcome unhappy reactions to conditions that can not be remedied. It is much wiser to train a child to relax while waiting for a bus rather than to spend the time groaning about missing the previous one. Children's oversensitiveness to the conditions of an overstimulating and complex environment may result in emotional instability.

FUNCTION OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL

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● The Chinese in America are facing an unusual situation. No matter whether the Chinese are native born or immigrant, they are treated as foreigners. Before they receive understanding and co-operation from the American public, they have to solve their immediate problems. Although the Chinese acknowledge the importance of American education, they realize that for their children to attend the public school alone is not enough—their children must know Chinese as well. Therefore, they have established many Chinese language schools in America.¹

Unfortunately, the situation arouses opposition from many sides. The strongest objection toward the language schools has been that they foster anti-American ideas. This accusation is without basis. A thorough study of these schools shows that they not only can supplement the American schools but also can go further in bearing the responsibility of training the Chinese children.

The functions of these schools are well worth studying. The purpose of the school is to teach the children the language of their parents, and to teach them the customs, traditions, and history of their ancestors. Such training and information are undoubtedly valuable to them. Briefly, the functions of the Chinese school can be summarized under four headings: family adjustment, cultural diffusion, social and recreational functions, and vocational preparation.

¹ Of the various studies of Americans of Chinese ancestry in the United States none as far as the writer can learn treats extensively of the role of the language school. Cf. Kit King Louis, "Program for Second-Generation Chinese," *Sociology and Social Research*, 16:455-62.

The Chinese school serves as a means of family adjustment. The second-generation Chinese have two social heritages, Oriental and Occidental. They are Oriental in appearance, but Occidental in thought. In most foreign groups there is a wide gulf between the first and the second generations. On the one hand, the children are becoming Americanized in the American neighborhood and the public schools, while, on the other hand, their parents are firmly holding on to their native customs and traditions. As the children grow older, they realize that they are living in two different worlds. Unfortunately, the differences between the Chinese culture and that of America are greater than the differences between the European culture and that of America. This fact tends to intensify the conflict.

The absence of a common expression and communication complicates the matter more than anything else. The first-generation Chinese can speak very little English because of the fact that they are working most of the time. They are rarely given an opportunity to learn English, and, since money is more important to the adults, they make no effort to learn. Many Chinese women of the first generation are completely ignorant of English.

The problem of the American-born Chinese presents a completely different picture. Chinese language to them is as difficult as English is to their parents. They go to public schools and study English. They play with the other English-speaking boys and girls. They seldom stay at home; naturally, they have little time to learn Chinese from their parents. The best thing they can do is to speak half English and half Chinese. Leong Gor Yun thinks that "they have invented a new language, a 'Chinglish,' which would defy the most learned scholar or the most practiced archeologist."²

² Leong Gor Yun, *Chinatown Inside Out* (Barrows Mussey, Inc., 1936), p. 117.

Since the parents and the children cannot find a common means of communication, misunderstandings naturally are the result. There seems to be a barrier standing between them; they live under the same roof, yet they are spiritually far apart. Therefore, discipline is difficult. It is known that "the tendency among all races that have come to America has been for the second generation to break away from the control of their parents, looking down upon them as ignorant of American ways."³ In order to fill this gap, the Chinese language school is indispensable. It serves as an interceding force that accomplishes beneficial measures to both sides. Indeed, the common language is important to bind the first and second generations closely together. The language school will give the children a knowledge of Chinese so that parents and children can understand each other better. Thus, the family problems can more easily be adjusted.

The Chinese school functions as a means of culture diffusion. By that we mean "the spreading of culture patterns and complexes."⁴ The immigrants introduce their culture patterns wherever they go. The early Chinese immigrants to the United States were of the laboring class who are illiterates. Even today very few Chinese immigrants are well educated, with the exception of the students. They have made a very unfavorable impression upon the American public. Chinatown has been described by some American writers as a place of opium dens and gambling houses. The pulp magazines and some motion pictures have served to keep this illusion alive. Even today many Americans still have the notion that Oriental people are inferior and backward. Living in a country where the Chinese have been looked down upon and ill treated, it is easy for them to develop inferiority com-

³ Edward K. Strong, Jr., *Second-generation Japanese Problem* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934), p. 202.

⁴ E. S. Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1932), p. 84.

plexes. To prevent the children from falling into this conviction, it is necessary for them to have a correct knowledge of China and the Chinese civilization. The course of Chinese history taught in the language school intends to give the children a clear picture of what China stands for and has accomplished, and to arouse their appreciation of the Chinese ancient culture and its recent development. Such knowledge helps the children to see their parents' viewpoint and to respect their own race.

The school is a place not only for learning Chinese but also for social gatherings. In spite of the shortage of recreational facilities and poor equipment of the school building, the children are glad to attend. This does not mean that the children enjoy studying in the Chinese school. On the contrary, there is a common feeling of dislike toward being confined in a classroom after having attended American school all day. Among the older children there is a tendency to drop out from Chinese schools. However, the small children prefer the school to their homes because they become despondent and lifeless at home. The father looks so dignified that the children do not feel free in his presence. On the other hand, there are so many pupils of different age levels in the school that it is easy for a child to find his playmates among them. The children thirst for group life, and the Chinese school meets this need.

Since modern oversea Chinese students came to teach in these schools, they have brought with them the new educational methods. Thus, the old barrier between the teachers and the pupils gradually breaks down. Now the teachers are no longer holding a "stick" to frighten the children. Physical punishment has been looked upon unfavorably. Instead of hating the teachers, the children are beginning to appreciate them. Friendship between the teachers and the pupils is growing, and the result of this improvement is the rapid increase of attendance. In some cases the children feel more at home in the Chinese school

than in the American school. This is due partly to the absence of race prejudice and partly to the "consciousness of kind." In a word, the children who go to Chinese school are not so much interested in the course they study as in the fellowship they enjoy.

The function of the Chinese school as a means of vocational preparation is of vital importance at the present time. Chinatown is a man's town, dominated by the first-generation Chinese merchants. They still cling to the Chinese ways of doing things. Anyone who does not know Chinese is looked down upon. For the second generation, those who can master the Chinese language are looked upon with favor and admiration, but those who are ignorant of the native tongue are called "brainless." And the "brainless" is not wanted for a better position. He may have received a distinguished college degree, but that makes no difference. Many college-graduate American-born Chinese have no chance to get a satisfactory job in the Chinese community. Therefore, a good knowledge of the Chinese language is a help, and in many cases a necessity, in securing vocational opportunities. The children, who are brought up with this knowledge, will constitute an economic asset for the future. The older generation still controls the Chinese business, and in order to obtain employment from them it is necessary to know their language. Even in seeking employment in American business firms a Chinese will have a better chance if he knows both the Chinese and the English language.⁵

From the social and economic standpoint the Chinese language schools at present are filling a need and should be considered as necessary. Although there may be objections to their ways and means, no one can deny their value. They are of value to the Chinese children, and directly or indirectly to the community as well.

⁵ Cf. F. Y. Chang, "An Accommodation Program for Second-Generation Chinese," *Sociology and Social Research*, 18:541-53.

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

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● As a result of the tension in the Pacific area and of the reports of possible conflict between Japan and the United States, the Americans of Japanese ancestry in the United States have been experiencing special problems. These young citizens are popularly and somewhat erroneously known as second-generation Japanese. It is true that they are Japanese by birth, but by environment, culture patterns, outlook, and citizenship, they are extensively American. Most of them are far more American than Japanese. They call themselves *Nisei*, which may be translated "Second Generation." The term is accurate, but to misinformed Americans it suggests something Japanese rather than things American. This is inaccurate and misleading, for it encourages some people to classify the second generation as foreign rather than native.¹

A part of the current problems of Americans born of Japanese parents is due to the fact that the general American public does not distinguish between first-generation Japanese who were born in Japan and who are widely Japanese and the second generation who are native born in the United States and who are for the most part largely American. Since the latter look like Japanese, they are superficially classified as Japanese and not as Americans by the general public in the United States. In consequence, the general public in expressing its disapproval of

¹ A columnist in the *Los Angeles Times* for March 28, 1941, remarks that "unfortunately, when the average American hears that a Japanese boy is a *Nisei*, he doesn't know what it means and is apt to think he is a sort of Japanese Nazi or a member of a secret society devoted to blowing up battleships." It may be noted that even the columnist refers to "a Japanese boy" when he really means an American boy of Japanese parentage, which is a distinction containing basic differences.

Japan's aggression in China also directs some of its adverse reactions not only against the first-generation Japanese here but also against the second generation.

Again, a phase of the special problems of the Americans of Japanese ancestry is due to their rapidly increasing numbers. The Census figures for 1920 and 1930 were approximately 29,000 and 68,000, respectively, while the numbers for 1941 (pending the release of the Census report for 1940) may be placed at about 100,000. A sheer increase in numbers, such as this, of a group of natives who look like foreigners to the undiscerning public creates special problems in itself.

Perhaps it is well to keep in mind the fact that these second-generation individuals will soon reach a maximum number, and that then they will decrease and in turn pass away. When the first-generation Japanese move out of the child-bearing ages, return to Japan, or die, there will be no new second-generation children. Since the first-generation Japanese are already reaching this stage, the second generation will not climb far above the present figure of 100,000 before a decline in numbers will set in, and before their problems will decrease as a result of becoming a disappearing minority group.

Of course, the third generation (*Sansei*) are appearing, and will continue to do so, but their adjustment problems will be less severe on the whole than those of their parents. While the second generation were born here of Japanese parents, the third generation are born of native American parents with culture patterns chiefly American. However, they will still suffer from many problems due to the "racial uniform" with which they are born.

Most of the special problems in 1941 of the Americans of Japanese parentage are aggravations of old problems. The conflict situation in the Pacific area greatly increases many of the problems which the American youth born of

Japanese parents have been experiencing during the last several years.

1. Recent developments in the Pacific area have made the first-generation Japanese in the United States increasingly aware of their loyalty to Japan. The need to contribute to home-country organizations has increased. The dangers to their homeland's welfare have been played up in propaganda statements in the press from home. Thus, as the parents have developed an increasing sense of loyalty to Japan, the chasm between them and their American-born children has been brought into the open.²

Moreover, as nationalism has developed in the United States in response to the increase of danger from across the Pacific, the young Japanese-Americans in this country have felt under some special obligation to show their interest in things American. As the parents have leaned toward Japan, the second generation in the main have leaned toward the United States. The result is a widening in the gulf between first generation and second generation in many instances, even though the Japanese family possesses an unusual degree of unity.³

There is evidence that some members of the second generation are feeling very keenly this current growing separation between themselves and the first-generation Japanese. Not all feel free to talk over the difficulty with their parents. If they are not able to dissolve the conflict by talking about it with either parents or friends, a mental inferiority and even more serious mental disturbances may occur. The young Japanese-Americans are especially in need of friends today among the majority group in our country.

² Cf. Robert H. Ross and Emory S. Bogardus, "Four Types of Nisei Marriage Patterns," *Sociology and Social Research*, 25:63-66.

³ Cf. Robert H. Ross and Emory S. Bogardus, "The Second-Generation Race Relations Cycle, a Study in Nisei-Issei Relationships," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24:357-63.

Sometimes the chasm grows so great—whether owing to the developing tension between Japan and the United States or to other matters is not always clear—that second-generation boys and young men are joining the ranks of American delinquency. Japanese youth have been at or near the bottom of the scale of delinquency in the United States. Recently a tendency toward delinquency is noticeable. Moreover, incipient gangs of American-Japanese boys of Japanese parentage are making themselves known. Other Japanese-American youth are showing themselves as “spoiled” after the manner of some American youth of Caucasian heritage.

Exceptions to the widening of distance between first-generation Japanese and their young people are found, first, in those homes where the children feel the increasing intolerance of some Americans and turn to their parents and their parental culture for aid and adjustment; second, in the case of Japanese parents who are giving up their long-determined desire “to go back home.” They have decided to live and die in this country, and in consequence are moving slowly toward a quiet acceptance of some of the American viewpoints of their children.

2. Occupationally, Japanese-Americans have had great difficulty in finding suitable work. Now their problem is increased. Some Americans who have employed first-generation Japanese or who have purchased vegetables raised by Japanese have been limiting their activities in these directions. At once the second-generation members who have been employed in their parents' establishments have found themselves without work to do.⁴

Some of the Americans of Japanese parentage who worked directly for American employers have lost their jobs when the latter have felt constrained not to employ “Japanese” any longer. Here again the failure to dis-

⁴ Cf. Isamu Nodera, “Second-Generation Japanese and Vocations,” *Sociology and Social Research*, 21:464-66.

tinguish between Japanese and Americans (of Japanese parentage) is evident, and the result once more works an injustice to native-born Americans.

The members of the second generation who have decided on going to Japan to find an occupation now find this goal increasingly hard to achieve. Tension between Japan and the United States makes Americans born of Japanese parents less acceptable in Japan than formerly.⁵

3. In the matter of American citizenship the Americans of Japanese parentage are feeling the effects of suspicion as a result of the conflict of interests in the Pacific basin. It is easy for other Americans to label them "fifth columnists." When they seek to register in the Air Service or the Navy the door is closed, even though they are citizens of our country. They are accepted in the Army, but they do not believe that the opportunity to become higher ranking officers will be open.⁶ It is not feasible for them to run for many public offices.

In the county of Los Angeles there are said to be 12,300 registered American voters (1940) of Japanese parentage, out of a total of about 28,000 of the second and third generations. Moreover, there are over 36,000 Japanese-Americans twenty-one years of age and over in the United States, but chiefly in the Pacific Coast states. They are voting largely as Democrats and Republicans, and not in a "racial bloc." Too much opposition to them, however, will tend to hinder them from thinking and acting as do Americans.⁷

⁵ In one limited particular the occupational outlook of Americans of Japanese parentage is not being cramped. The opportunities to work for other members of the second-generation group or to serve them in the professions, while not large, are slowly increasing.

⁶ The record of the Americans of Japanese birth is high with reference to volunteering for training in the army. In the training encampments they are having a new experience of being received and classified in order with other American boys and hence of mixing on an equal footing with other Americans. Some interesting democratizing factors result.

⁷ Significant work is being done by the Japanese American Citizens League. Its headquarters are in Los Angeles. It is endeavoring to develop American citizenship among the second generation and at the same time protect them in their legal rights.

The dual citizenship problem has come to the front again. Many Americans still believe that all Americans of Japanese ancestry are citizens of Japan as well as of the United States, and they are quick to make this assertion. The facts are that in 1924 the Japanese Diet passed a law to the effect that children born of Japanese parents living at the time in the United States are not Japanese citizens unless their parents register their births within fourteen days after birth.⁸ Further, if so registered, an individual may renounce his Japanese citizenship by declaration before the proper Japanese official. It is estimated that one half of the "second generation" in the United States have not been registered by their parents and hence are not dual citizens. Of the other half many, if not most, prefer their American citizenship and, given a fair chance, will prove it in deed as well as by word. Perhaps a small minority are in doubt. As a class they can be turned against the United States by intolerance or won to it by proper encouragement on the part of other Americans. Many are at the present writing renouncing their Japanese citizenship. But this dual citizenship problem involves other races too.

4. Although the first-generation Japanese are Buddhist to a large extent, their children are mainly Christian. However, when these children have grown up and have not found themselves welcomed in some Christian churches on the same basis as are Christians of Caucasian backgrounds, they have wondered about the sincerity of Christians. Today, when they enter a large Christian church for purposes of worship, they sometimes are met with a cold glance, which is disastrous to a sensitive mind. Even some church members today have fallen into the same error as has the general public when it does not distinguish between first-generation Japanese and their children of

⁸ Cf. Tsutomu Obana, "Problems of the American-Born Japanese," *Sociology and Social Research*, 19:163.

American birth, aspirations, and ideals. Hence many of the latter are being faced with the thought that perhaps they will find more religious dependability in Buddhism than in Christianity.

As implied by a leading Christian leader, many Americans of Japanese parentage are surprised to find that in the by and large the American public schools, though not connected with religion, are more Christian in their treatment of the second generation than are the churches, particularly the larger and wealthier churches. They do not understand, for instance, why they are not freely accepted in a Christian church but are recommended to join a mission elsewhere in town operated by that church. The present Pacific tension has aggravated this mental conflict. The condition is partly offset by the fact that many individual Christians have personally taken a special interest in assisting the second generation to understand the reactions of the American public toward them during this Pacific crisis and to develop a philosophical attitude in the matter.

5. The educational problem of the Americans of Japanese ancestry is made more serious by recent events in the Pacific region. For some time these young people have been dubious about going on with their college education. Many of them with a college degree have had to fall back upon work that a high school graduate could do as well. They are learning that one cannot live by a college degree alone.

Many of these American citizens are facing the fact that further knowledge of the Japanese language and other culture patterns may be of more value to them than more "American" education. The present Pacific crisis raises new doubts about the value to them of American education, if this education is not going to be recognized by Americans who are administrative heads of employing concerns.

They are reminded, on the other hand, by understanding Americans that life is not entirely limited to occupations and that there are cultural aspects of life which have deep personality value. By virtue of interpretations furnished them by fellow Americans of Caucasian lineage, they come to see why the public in favoring China tends to turn a cold shoulder even to educated second-generation persons, and hence they revive their faith in the United States and go ahead with their educational plans.

6. The social and recreational contacts of Americans of Japanese parentage have on the whole shrunk with the development of the conflict situation in the Pacific. These contacts have been greatly limited, but are still more so now. In the face of social and recreational restraints these fellow citizens of ours have been led to question various aspects of our American interest in democracy and in freedom. What do Americans mean by using these terms if they do not act in accordance with them?⁹

Public recreational facilities are restricted where the public does not distinguish between the first-generation Japanese and their children of American birth. Pacific tension causes discriminations to spread. However, there are American citizens of Japanese birth who understand the social psychology of the situation and excuse Americans who fail to treat them as all honest and loyal Americans are entitled to be treated.

The present cloudy outlook in the Pacific and its repercussions in the United States stimulate our citizens of Japanese birth to seek recreational satisfactions among themselves. Thus the emergency is met where the numbers of the second generation are great enough. In small and isolated numbers the social and recreational outlook for these young people is circumscribed.

⁹ Cf. Edward K. Strong, Jr., *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934), Ch. 1.

Another social aspect of the picture is the way in which the second generation along with their parents are sometimes called unassimilable. Recent Pacific events have brought a rebirth of such remarks. The second generation, however, are well on the road of assimilation. The process is slowed up chiefly by the unthinking remarks of narrow-visioned or ill-informed Americans.

It is a problem when one possesses parts of two cultures but is lacking full recognition in either. It is difficult to know what to do when wholesome contacts in the larger world about one decrease and when a worthy and ambitious young citizen of a minority group finds himself with uncertain status. The "second generation" individual is not only a "marginal person" living on the edges of two cultures, but he is also a part of a "marginal culture" which he himself is creating in which he is trying to adjust himself.¹⁰

By implication the answers to the problems that are described in the foregoing pages are given. They run the gamut of educating American citizens of whatever birth to an understanding of the extensive assimilation the Americans of Japanese birth have already experienced, of their desires to be truly American, of their aspirations as American citizens. Already fifty, sixty, eighty per cent American, they do not wish to be made to feel that they are "different." They wish to have the opportunity of keeping step with the rest of us in being normal human beings and in working out the principles of democracy under the American flag.

A vital suggestion has been made that the general public may be educated regarding the American aims and deeds of these young people and that newspapers publish "stories" of this character. By informal conversation,

¹⁰ Cf. Milton M. Goldberg, "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory," *American Sociological Review*, 6:52 ff., February, 1941.

through public talks, in the press, by addresses from the pulpits it would be possible to educate the general public in a way that would be a big boon to the Americanism of these Americans.

Again, it has been proposed that racial committees be formed in and around every area where a number of Japanese and their families live. In these discussion groups both Japanese and Americans could understand each other better. Some of the differences between Japanese and their children could be overcome; some of the chasms between the second generation and other Americans could be bridged.

Another proposal is that Americans who are interested in solving these racial problems and in preventing the rise of serious conflicts might form discussion groups in their church, fraternal, school, and recreational organizations. Thus, circles of Americans of increasing numbers could arrive at an understanding of the problems of the Americans of Japanese ancestry and help in solving these problems. If enough of these racial discussion groups could carry on their educational work in enough communities, the whole lump of racial misunderstanding in this particular field could in time be leavened.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society under the direction of Professor William C. Smith, Linfield College, held a well-attended meeting on May 9 and 10 at which a number of important papers were presented. The program included:

1. "Some Socio-Economic Consequences of Timber Depletion in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan"—David B. Carpenter.
2. "Housing Migratory Agricultural Workers in the Pacific Northwest"—Joe J. King.
3. "The Adaptation of the Small Town Newspaper to the Changing Rural Community"—Carl F. Reuss.
4. "The Status and Trend of the Rural Church in a Changing Pioneer County of Eastern Washington"—Fred R. Yoder.
5. "Possible Contributions of Bio-ecology to Sociology"—James A. Macnab.
6. "Quantitative Analysis in Sociological Research"—Felix E. Moore.
7. "The Horizontal and Vertical Mobility of High School Graduates from an Oregon Community, 1908-1940"—Elon H. Moore.
8. "Size of Family by Religious Affiliations"—S. B. Laughlin.
9. "A Study of Academic Freedom"—Gerald Breese.
10. "Divorce by Occupational Groups"—H. Ashley Weeks.
11. "Mexican Family Life: A Research Project"—Norman S. Hayner.
12. "On the Nature of Culture"—H. G. Barnett.
13. "The Changing Caste Situation of the Negro in the Northwest"—Robert W. O'Brien.
14. "A Socio-Psychological Analysis of Anti-Semitism"—Paul K. Hatt.

The Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society under the direction of Dr. Erle F. Young, The University of Southern California, will hold a summer meeting on July 12. The following tentative program has been outlined:

1. "Technology and Sociology"—William F. Ogburn.
2. Afternoon, presentation of research papers.
3. Evening, panel discussion on propaganda under the leadership of Dr. David Henley, Whittier College.

Research work in process in Sociology at the University of Washington includes the following:

Alan Bates: Parental Roles in Courtship

David Carpenter: Population Analysis of the Elma Trade Area (for the Washington State Planning Council)

Socio-Economic Concomitants of Timber Exhaustion in the Lake States

Paul Hatt: Ecological Study of Central Residential Area of Seattle

Norman S. Hayner: Variability in the Criminal Behavior of American Indians

Robert W. O'Brien: Change of Caste Situation in the Northwest

Stereotype Negro as Depicted in *Life* Magazine

Svend H. Riemer, Robert W. O'Brien, and Jack Conway: Student Marriages

Svend H. Riemer: Sociological Home Planning

One Hundred Cases of Embezzlement in Sweden

Calvin F. Schmid: Delinquency Areas in Minneapolis and St. Paul (for book on delinquency areas edited by Clifford R. Shaw)

Donald Stewart: The Civilian Conservation Corps, A Case Study in Institutional Efficiency

Research work in process in Sociology at the State College of Washington includes the following:

Fred R. Yoder: Status and Trends of the Rural Church in a Changing Prairie Pioneer Community in Eastern Washington

Pioneer Social Adaptation in Lincoln County, Washington, 1880-1900

Carl E. Dent: Research in Attitudes Toward Marriage

Differential County Divorce Rates in Washington (in collaboration with H. Ashley Weeks)

H. Ashley Weeks: Study of Differential County Divorce Rates in Washington (in collaboration with Carl E. Dent)

Differential Divorce Rates by Religious and Occupational Groups

The Relationship of Broken Homes to School Retardation and Juvenile Delinquency

The Setting Up of Expectancy and Prognostication Tables for the Purpose of Predicting Juvenile Delinquency (preliminary study)

Paul H. Landis: A Resurvey of Drought Migrant Adjustment after Three Years in Washington

Farm Population Changes in Washington during 1940

Changing Culture Patterns and Social Attitudes in a Rural County

Carl F. Reuss: Washington County Governmental Services, Personnel, and Finances

Population Trends of Incorporated Places in Washington, 1890-1940

Rural Church Membership, Programs, and Problems in Washington

Henry J. Meyer: Regional Variation in Rates of Mental Disorders in the State of Washington, 1920-1940

County Variations in Washington by Type of Psychosis, 1936-1940

Settlement and Segregation Pattern of Jewish Population in Detroit

Social Problems Arising from Types of Race and Ethnic Relationships

Delbert C. Miller: The Measurement of National Morale

Social Factors Related to National Morale

Youth and National Morale

Donald C. Collier: Archaeology of the Upper Columbia

John B. Edlefsen: A Study of Students' Attitudes toward Religion

Cecil H. Arnold: The Influence of Knowledge of Campaign Issues upon Student Choice of Presidential Candidates

Sex Differential in a Social Distance Study (in collaboration with Dorris J. West)

Fred Winkler: Social Attitudes and Social Relationships in Stevens and Pend Oreille Counties, Washington (Under direction of and in collaboration with Paul H. Landis)

Charles W. Nelson: Patterns of Cultural Development of Rural, Out-of-School Youth in Northeastern Washington (Under direction of and in collaboration with Paul H. Landis)

News notes from the University of British Columbia:

Professor H. F. Angus, Head of the Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology, returned to the University for the session 1940-1941 after having served as a Commissioner on the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.

Professor Joseph A. Crumb has offered a course in Social Statistics particularly designed for students in government and in social work. This course is in addition to the two statistical courses offered regularly by Professor G. F. Drummond.

Professor C. W. Topping is teaching at the 1941 Summer School of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. His General Sociology course, which has been for juniors and seniors, will be opened next fall to sophomores.

Miss Dorothy King, Director of the Montreal School of Social Work, is offering an Advanced Case Work course in the University of British Columbia Summer School.

SOCIAL THEORY

SOCIOLOGIA EDUCACIONAL. By FERNANDO DE AZEVEDO. Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940, pp. xviii+456.

Professor of educational sociology at the University of Sao Paulo, chief organizer of the primary and normal educational system of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Fernando de Azevedo presents a voluminous treatise on the most important social facts and problems concerned with educational relations and processes.

The *Educational Sociology* aims, by studying the concrete conditions of the educative activity and its relations with other displays of social life (economic, political, religious, etc.), to understand the nature of the educational facts, to establish the constant relations among pedagogical phenomena and other categories of social facts, between the pedagogical social system and the general social system, and to arrive by this way to the general theory of the educational mechanisms considered *in abstracto*, that is, destitute of the exact conditions of place and time. To proceed to the necessary *mises au point*, to melt general notions into a coherent picture and, at last, to make appear the great chains of causality or interrelations that connect the different studied facts: this is the subject of educational sociology that remains, being a branch of sociology, a pure science and a speculative discipline, although it allows numerous applications (pp. 51, 52).

There is no other book in the Portuguese or even the Spanish language that is comparable to this recent contribution to educational sociology. Well written, insightful, and judicious, and with extensive illustrative case and problem material, it gives an excellent overview of significant findings and techniques reported and suggests all kinds of formal and informal educational processes. As far as the basic conceptions are concerned, the author's viewpoint approaches very closely to Durkheim's theory of social facts. However, Fernando de Azevedo neither accepts Durkheim's designation "science of education" nor contents himself with

the extension given by Durkheim and his group to this recent discipline. Although one of the fundamental concepts of the book is "social coercion" in its manifold phases, Professor Azevedo goes far beyond the concept and gives besides sociological theorizing numerous concrete empirical data about primitive education, educational functions of the family, the role of routine and dogmatism in educational systems, the crisis in present education, social class education, rural education as the chief problem of Brazilian pedagogical efforts, and many other analyses. Maintaining always a distance from pedagogical norms and applications, the author avoids possible confusion with ethics and philosophical doctrines.

EMILIO WILLEMS

UNIVERSITY OF SAO PAULO

FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POPULATION POLICY. By FRANK LORIMER, ELLEN WINSTON, and LOUISE K. KISER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, pp. xiii+178.

This book has been produced for the Committee on Population Studies and Social Planning of the National Economic and Social Planning Association. Its general purpose is the inception of a general social policy for future economic and social planning. The Committee very properly recognized that population problems and demographic trends underlie any such planning. Consequently, the major portion of the book recites in detail the investigation made of population trends in the United States, of labor supply and natural resources, of consumption patterns as related to population trends, and of the social aspects of population change. The basic objectives of a sound American population policy must be concerned with a harmonious correlation between our traditional democratic philosophy and forward-looking ideals. As listed by the Committee, these ideals are (1) equitable opportunities for, and the maintenance of, a high level of living; (2) conservation of natural resources; (3) general improvement of health and physical capacities; (4) increased opportunities for the development of intellectual capacities; and (5) the enrichment of culture. Everyone who is acquainted with the trends of population in the United States during recent decades knows that the birth rate is declining and that, therefore, a sound positive program of economic progress must be formulated on this basis. Likewise, it is essential that the qualitative aspects of the future population be carefully guarded by wise eugenic and medical measures. Furthermore, the development of an enlightened public opinion is essential on those subjects which pertain to family limi-

tations, economic progress of the socially adequate but economically handicapped, and the social and cultural needs of all. The Committee concludes its report with some practical concrete suggestions for the establishment of a population policy embracing these. The formulation of this policy is a good first-rate piece of work. It is unfortunate that many of the statistics utilized were not the most recent ones available. M.J.V.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE. By HARRY F. WARD. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940, pp. 293.

This book is such a challenge that there are several kinds of readers who might just as well leave it alone. Among these are those who think the present economic order is so nearly perfect as to be sacrosanct; those who prefer to think in terms of labels rather than facts and reasons; and those who are simply too fearful of their own interests in the midst of world chaos to think at all socially.

The author is eminently qualified to give meat too strong for social babes, and this competence rests upon a lifetime of devoted service in the field of applied Christianity and social reconstruction. Professor Ward is now teaching Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, but has served apprenticeship as a Methodist pastor, a social settlement worker, a leader in Methodist Social Service Work, twenty years as Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, and in other academic and religious activities, not to mention his writing of more than a dozen previous books in the same field.

The present volume is too closely written to be reviewed topically, since one thesis is woven with untiring logic throughout the chapters from one end of the book to the other. One has to read it all to read it with full understanding. It leaves no hope for text lifters to do anything but falsify it. The theme would seem to be summed up, however, in this sentence from page 179: "Thus the disappearance of minor classes by division between the contending forces increases rapidly before our eyes, under the impact of capitalist decline and the nearness of either fascist or socialist society." Here is the gist of the situation as set forth throughout his three hundred pages of unflinching challenge to things as they are. All that we hope to do in their review is to set down a brief abstract of the argument, pausing first only to point out that Professor Ward, along with many other competent thinkers, simply assumes that the present economic, or at least industrial and business, system is already on the way out because of its own inherent defects.

Will a real, socialized democracy be allowed to develop? Will self-interest and ignorance permit it? That is the substance of the author's opening statement of the issue. His answer is: "Certainly not without a terrific struggle, in which the democratic forces may be again and again defeated as they have been in the past decade. The beginning of the victory is clear understanding of what has to be done, and of the forces that will move heaven and earth to prevent its being done." (59) As monopolistic corporations grow stronger, civil liberties grow weaker. The La Follette Committee and others have documented for the whole nation, "that in many cases the corporations were prepared to destroy the Bill of Rights with force and violence where they could not nullify it by intimidation . . ." (70) Confronting this assault by greed against civil liberties, democracy finds itself facing also a conflict within itself. "Its political and economic interests are no longer united, they are at war with each other." (75) Specifically, the struggle is between waning "individualistic capitalism" and waxing "monopoly capitalism," the former requiring democracy and the latter bound to destroy it. This "is now a fight to a finish." (76)

The author sees no remedy in the frequently proposed extension of political democracy, as now existing, toward industrial and social goals. "The attempt to stop monopoly by giving the democratic political state power to control economic enterprise leads only to the fascist state as Germany and Italy have demonstrated." Our only way out is the "planning for social ends, made possible by the national ownership of the necessary resources and plant." (81) Professor Ward holds that the only society able to use the modern power machine is one that will recognize equality of need and equal rights to develop. (91) But even when ballots put political authority legally in control over economic power the struggle to seize the state will have only begun. The American people need to awaken to this approaching contest, and "to understand that all the recent emphasis upon the Constitution, loyalty oaths, and flag worship is an instinctive defense reaction to the approach of a change in property relations." (108) At present the state, instead of remaining impartial as it should according to political theory, "represents one side or the other of the underlying economic conflict, according to the dominance of forces" at the given time or place. (110) However, the author affirms that the present democratic state is "actually enforcing economic scarcity, repressing civil liberties, and getting ready to make war, contrary to the interest of most of its citizens." (115) At present capital is selling its freedom to fascism for subjugation of the workers, and at the same time arms our foreign foes. The antiunion corporation exactly copies the fascist state. (119, 121, 124) Professor Ward maintains in various passages that un-

enlightened public opinion persists in treating fascism and communism as equally subversive of American ideals, whereas, he maintains, they are sharply opposed. Fascism would destroy democracy whereas communism would extend it. Communism is like "the American democratic ideal." (139) A fascist dictatorship is personal, while such communistic dictatorship as does exist is social in character and never the will of a single man. (145) For these and other reasons he holds the lumping of the two movements together as "a dangerous fallacy." (149) With capital divorcing democracy and abandoning civil liberties, the disinherited intellectuals and the workers have a single cause and should unite under it. (186) The only hope lies in Christian ethics and social religion (211-13), although the dividing of the churches through reactionary leadership and red-baiting does not promise early success along that line. (217-18)

As for civil liberties, this veteran battler for them analyzes the present situation and concludes that, since free enterprise and free speech grew up together, they may go down together. "The closing of the individualistic period of capitalist expansion faces defenders of the Bill of Rights with the new conditions created by the collectivist nature of the machine age." (229)

"The political struggle is now over the basic question of the continuance of the profit system." Democracy must take the offensive now. "If our traditional liberties cannot now be used to extend the democratic process and democratic power to our economic life, the fascists win." (286)

The book is scholarly and fearless, and forcefully written. C.M.C.

CHART FOR HAPPINESS. By HARWELL HART. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. xi+198.

It is in Part II that the author explains his euphorimeter tests and demonstrates that he is working upon a real human problem and is making headway. Part I is devoted largely to advice to people who for one reason or another are unhappy and are disturbed by their lack of happiness. A "long-run" test and an "at-the-moment" test of happiness are described, both to be used by the subject himself, who reports his own subjective reactions to life according to his feelings. The "long-run" test includes answers to a brief and selected list of questions, and the "at-the-moment" test relies on underlining and crossing out words in a series of forty-eight adjectives. The scoring methods are simple enough to be used by the subject. The ways in which the methods of scoring were derived are not fully explained or justified.

Next, the author develops a diagnostic test, whereby the subject may be expected to discover why he is unhappy if either the long-run or at-the-moment test indicates that he is below normal in the happiness that he enjoys. The diagnostic test is somewhat elaborate. It seeks to locate the subject's areas of happiness or unhappiness in such phases of life as recreation, work, love life, home, health, sense of success, mental harmony, economic status, friendships, loyalty to groups, religious adjustment, and altruism. The results of these subtests may be brought together, and the result is labeled the subject's "happiness spectrum." While many details will need to be perfected and vital changes made, yet the cause of scientific measurement and of prediction is furthered by the unique ways in which Dr. Hart has taken previous techniques and developed them and produced his euphorimeter tests.

E.S.B.

SUMNER TODAY. MAURICE R. DAVIE, Editor. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940, pp. xxvi+194.

Sixteen selected essays by the late William Graham Sumner of Yale are included in this volume, the appearance of which signalizes the centenary of his birth. Each of these essays is followed by one or more critical comments written by well-known American leaders chosen because of their particular interests in the fields of thought explored in the essays. Such essays as "The Forgotten Man," "What Makes the Rich Richer and the Poor Poorer?" "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over," "Earth Hunger and Land Grabbing," and "War" are included. Among the commentators are William S. Knudsen, Harold G. Moulton, George E. Vincent, H. L. Mencken, and Charles A. Beard.

Sumner, whose broad and intensive outlook on human society enabled him to write about it with a significance that has seldom been paralleled, has been called the "Darwin of the Social Sciences." With the world in the state that it is in at present, it is fortunate that the William Graham Sumner Club has called attention once more to the mature reflections and the critical analyses found about society in Sumner's writings. Can society and its leadership profit from them?

Many of the commentators have discovered that a good many of his views are as fresh as when they first appeared. On the other hand, some of them have not well stood the test of time and further discoveries. Charles Beard, in reviewing an oracular statement made by Sumner to the effect that if there be "an abundance of land and few men to share it, the men will be equal," points out some damaging factual evidence to

disprove it. But there can be no doubt that all the commentators have noted the tremendous amount of insight that Sumner brought to bear upon his penetrating analyses of social forces. Everyone should at this time reread the essay on "War." It ends with the conclusion: "What we prepare for is what we shall get."

M.J.V.

GROUP EDUCATION FOR A DEMOCRACY. By WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK. New York: Association Press, 1940, pp. x+219.

The author, who is regarded by many as the Dean of American educators, discusses various aspects of the need for refining and guiding our education to meet the demands of a democracy. The functions and responsibility of the teacher in the social situation today, in order to give meaning and reality to democracy, provide the theme for the first part of the book, and in this connection the importance of adult education is skilfully outlined. The second part, entitled "Life and Learning," deals with the education of the youth who is to be trained in the ethical bases of democratic society. The book throughout is very easy to read and should be stimulating for parents, teachers, and group workers.

J.E.N.

SOCIAL WELFARE

DEMOCRACY'S SECOND CHANCE. By GEORGE BOYLE. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941, pp. xiii+177.

COMMUNITY CONTACTS AND PARTICIPATION OF TEACHERS. By FLORENCE GREENHOE. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 91.

PATTERNS OF WORKER'S EDUCATION. By FLORENCE HEMLEY SCHNEIDER. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 158.

URBAN PLANNING AND LAND POLICIES. Volume II of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939, pp. 366.

POSSIBLE TECHNIQUE OF DISARMAMENT CONTROL. By LAURE P. MORGAN. Geneva, Switzerland: Geneva Research Centre, 1941, pp. 96.

CASH BENEFITS UNDER VOLUNTARY DISABILITY INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES. By ELIZABETH L. OTEY. Washington, D.C.: Social Security Board, 1941, pp. 117.

WOMEN WORKERS IN THEIR FAMILY ENVIRONMENT. Bulletin of the Women's Bureau; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. 82.

FEEBLEMINDED CHILDREN AS A MASSACHUSETTS PROBLEM. By JENNETTE R. GRUENER, The Massachusetts Child Council, 1941, pp. 63.

PREPAYMENT PLANS FOR MEDICAL CARE. By FRANZ GOLDMANN. New York: Joint Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund and the Good Will Fund; and Medical Administration Service, Inc., 1941, pp. 60.

THE SOCIALISTIC TREND AS AFFECTING THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT. By JAMES PETER WARBASSE. New York: The Cooperative League, 1940, pp. 32.

In his characteristically vigorous style the author, a veteran leader of the co-operative movement, points out how the failures of the profit system are being accompanied by the rise of statism in the form either of socialism or fascism. He decries both of these alternatives because of the effects on the human individual. The major conflict today, Dr. Warbasse contends, is between "competition for profit in business and the state in business." But, as the former declines, the coming conflict will be between co-operation and a growing statism. Co-operation is proclaimed as "the opposite of socialism, and is the one effective force today that is moving the world away from socialism." Socialism moves toward "the establishment of statism in autocratic and monopolistic control."

The author believes that the subversive activities of the prevalent business system, for example, loans of large sums of money by American business houses to Hitler and to Mussolini, have been even more dangerous than the subversive activities of socialists and communists. He urges that co-operative societies which are private businesses and which seek no aid from the state shall remain politically neutral. They do not exist for any specific class. The more co-operative democracy develops, the better we shall be able to resist the forces of socialism and of fascism and to rebuild the world, once the present destructive forces are spent. Dr. Warbasse has produced a small but compact treatise that is replete with thought-provoking and humanity-embracing ideas.

HOSPITAL PUBLIC RELATIONS. By ALDEN B. MILLS. Chicago: Physicians' Record Company, 1939, pp. xix+361.

This book is intended primarily for persons concerned with hospital administration and for practitioners interested in the principles of a public relations program for any institution. It is a practical analysis of the medical institution's relationship to, and possible methods of securing support from, its public. As managing editor of one of the leading hospital journals, *The Modern Hospital*, and former executive secretary of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, the author is widely familiar with the field of medical care in this country and speaks with authority.

A public relations program is defined as "a conscious, sincere, directed endeavor to create and strengthen contacts which contribute to the development of mutual understanding, good will, and respect between the institution (or business) and its public." The cornerstone of such a program is good hospital service, which in turn depends upon quality of care, co-ordination with the community program, and teaching of professional personnel. The problem of increasing hospital costs, creating urgent need to obtain greater financial support from the community, is obviously the strongest argument for the development of a formal public relations program and the focal point of discussion throughout the book.

As far as methods are concerned, the author recommends that a definite place should be given to public relations in the hospital's total program. Experience shows that expert service, either on full or part time, is needed from a person skilled in techniques of (a) social investigation and (b) interpretation and publicity. A progressive hospital policy, which is flexibly related to changing needs and frankly presented to the public, offers the best foundation. In the author's opinion high-pressure methods have proved of questionable value. He suggests as a criterion that the emotional appeal should never be allowed to submerge the rational appeal. Experience has further demonstrated the importance of taking adequate time for advance planning and preparation of the ground.

From the viewpoint of sociology and social work the reviewer would be glad to see this type of presentation related to and based upon a more fundamental set of concepts regarding the place of the hospital in the modern community. Hospitals seem to have been pushed by their urgent need of financial support to act before they have fully explored the deeper foundations of their work. The role of the single medical institution, as dynamically related to the whole health and social welfare program of the community, demands fuller exploration and definition in the light of modern social trends.

HARRIETT M. BARTLETT

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF GERMANY FROM WILLIAM II TO HITLER, 1888-1938. By W. F. BRUCK. London: Oxford University Press, pp. xvi+292.

The German type of industry, with its cartels, mercantilism, finance capitalism, protectionist methods, imperialist ambitions, is described with a long view of its development until it finally became a ready tool for Hitler and the Third Reich. The ideologies prevalent during the last two centuries are discussed to show their influence in German affairs during four periods: the pre-Wilhelminian period, the period of Wilhelm II, the Weimar Republic, and the Nazi Reich. There are also featured a comparative study of the formative ideas and events in Britain and Germany, and an evaluation of planned systems of economy. In the step-by-step development of German organization and policy, it becomes evident that the Third Reich is not so much a product of Hitler's leadership as an inevitable phase of German cultural growth.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT. By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. 100.

In this, the second printing of a book first published several years ago, readers will find an unusually interesting historical document. Among the questions raised are these: What were the social consequences of the American Revolution? What manner of men caused the Revolution? What were the desires that shaped the control of the Revolution in its later stages? Then, as a sample of some of the conclusions at which the author arrives, the following statements will be illustrative: The "struggle for independence of the United States affected the character of American society by altering the status of persons." When the colonies achieved the rank of states, many a man had his own rank definitely raised.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND CONSUMER COOPERATION, The Value of Consumer Cooperation to Organized Workers. By JAMES MYERS. New York: The Cooperative League, 1940, pp. 40.

In clear-cut language the author points out the reasons why organized labor would find it advantageous to establish and buy through consumer co-operatives. Since labor has discarded individual bargaining (because it is weak and ineffective) and has grown in strength through collective bargaining, so by discarding individual buying in favor of buying collectively through co-operatives, labor can "gain control over prices, reduce the cost of living, and make advances in real wages."

WHAT MAKES LIVES. By PORTER SARGENT. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1940, pp. 224.

This book, privately published, is the introduction of Mr. Sargent's larger volume entitled *A Handbook of Private Schools*, which serves as a guide for the selection of private educational institutions. *What Makes Lives* consists of a series of brief essays on such subjects as The Child's Inheritance, Sources of Ideas and Feelings, and Educational Control. The author writes these essays with a pen pointed sometimes with good humor, sometimes with the satire of ridicule. Notwithstanding his tendency to find fault with things in general, the reader will find a lot of good solid common sense packed in the essays and will be sure to be stimulated and challenged because of the many debatable issues discussed.

CITIZENS WITHOUT WORK. A Study of the Effects of Unemployment upon the Workers' Social Relations and Practices. By E. WRIGHT BAKKE. New Haven: published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, 1940, pp. x+311.

THE UNEMPLOYED WORKER. A Study of the Task of Making a Living Without a Job. By E. WRIGHT BAKKE. New Haven: published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, 1940, pp. xvi+465.

In *Citizens Without Work*, the studies have been directed toward such problems as finding out what has been the effect of the impact of unemployment upon family stability and upon developing a "working-class consciousness." With complete knowledge of the effect brought to light, what can be done to ameliorate the difficulties of the unemployed? The unemployed worker and his family need stability and security firmly established. Cash supplements and unemployment compensation were found to be highly essential during the first period of stress. Offers of jobs contribute most to a postponement of the decay of self-reliance, a decay which begins to set in about two months before final discouragement becomes apparent. Direct relief has been found to be wanting in any re-establishment of morale. It is essential that the status of the worker in the various folk activities be maintained as far as possible on a level with what he has had in the past. The study has therefore attempted to yield a description of the "normal course of working-class life," which then becomes the goal toward which rehabilitation measures must be directed.

In *The Unemployed Worker*, the studies have been made with the point of view of delving into the experiences of the unemployed worker as he attempts to formulate or modify his goals, to develop new ways of getting a job, and to make use of community services for relief. One interesting thing comes to light in the study, namely, a list of things characteristic of a poor or "bum" job. These are irregular work, driving straw bosses, pressure, union-fighting policy by an employer, impersonal

relations, lack of interest in workers, bad sanitary and safety conditions, dirt, dust and smoke, excessive heat and poor lighting, association with "low-class" workers, and little chance to stand out as an individual. Another significant finding was that, while economic goals are important, yet the noneconomic rewards, such as a socially respectable status, independence, and self-determination, are equally important. These studies have been made with thoroughness and real insight into human problems within their several proper culture settings, and they have yielded socially significant data of paramount importance.

M.J.V.

WORLD-WIDE INFLUENCES OF THE CINEMA: A STUDY OF OFFICIAL CENSORSHIP AND THE INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL ASPECTS OF MOTION PICTURES. By JOHN EUGENE HARLEY. Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1940, pp. ix+320.

This comprehensive study, replete with documentary material, by the chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the American Institute of Cinematography, is a most valuable contribution to the understanding of the cinema as a vital force in national and world affairs and of how various nations endeavor through censorship to control films. Testimonials and evidences to show how motion pictures wield an influence in international affairs are presented to indicate the importance of the cinema. That the nations of the world recognize the tremendous influence of motion pictures is evidenced by the almost universal censorship of certain kinds of films, particularly those that affect the maintenance of public order, reflect on the government or the ruler or a national patriot, portray national citizens as villains, contain scenes objectionable on religious ground, are propagandistic, exhibit excessive gangsterism and crime or have scenes of unnecessary brutality and roughness, and those that are offensive against third states. Official censorship in the United States is limited to states for the most part, with no national organization to control the cinema. Some thirty states have attempted censorship, but at present only seven of these have official censorship. A number of cities exercise control over films in various ways. Unofficial censorship is more prevalent. The National Board of Review rates pictures, and the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Incorporated, exercises internal control.

The rules and principles of official censorship around the world are presented by countries with lists of films that have been banned or deleted. On the more positive side, a description is given of the activities

of the leading international and national organizations to promote better films, of which *The International Institute of Educational Cinematography* is an outstanding example. Cultural, documentary, and educational films, widely referred to as nontheatrical, are promoted by various organizations in many countries. Documentary films are those that report and interpret facts, leaving conclusions to be drawn by the audiences. The last chapter deals with the international commerce in films. The appendix contains a selected bibliography and a list of cultural, documentary, and educational films and film sources.

M.H.N.

DEMOCRACY THROUGH PUBLIC OPINION. By HAROLD D. LASSWELL. Menasha, Wisconsin: Banta Publishing Company, 1941, pp. 176. (Chi Omega Service Fund Studies.)

In twelve chapters the author suggests a number of interesting topics, such as: public opinion in the public interest, how to think about what we read, a new way for democracy to talk, social balance and public opinion. In connection with the last-mentioned topic it may be said that a social balance between powerful private interests is not enough. They might even cause legislation to be deadlocked and otherwise work against the welfare of all. Another vital topic is how can we all escape from being "infested" with opinions but lacking in facts and the desire to act in line with the common good. There is also the problem of how to keep the omnipresent propagandist from controlling the news.

READING AND LISTENING COMPREHENSION AT VARIOUS CONTROLLED RATES. By HARRY GOLDSTEIN. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940, pp. v+69.

The basic problem of the reported experiment was to compare reading and listening comprehension at various controlled rates of presentation. The McCall-Crabbs Standard Test Lessons in Reading was adapted and used with the greatest care in testing 280 male and female subjects, ranging in age from eighteen to sixty-five years, representing a cross section of adults in terms of intelligence levels, educational achievement, and cultural background. The mode of presentation, the apparatus, and the treatment of data are described in detail. Among the findings may be mentioned the relative superiority of listening comprehension over reading comprehension as the material decreases in difficulty. Postpractice may account in part for the difference. The less intelligent groups tend to spend more time listening, whereas the more intelligent ones spend more time reading and make better scores in reading comprehension.

RACES AND CULTURE

NUESTRO PUEBLO, LOS ANGELES, CITY OF ROMANCE. Drawings by CHARLES H. OWENS, text by JOSEPH SEEWERKER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. xiii+184.

In his "Introduction" Lee Shippey describes Los Angeles as a city "in which the newest and most revolutionary is continually being grafted on the old, the traditional, and the historic." He refers to Mr. Owens, whose 183 sketches constitute the essence of the book, as "one of the greatest of newspaper artists," and to Joseph Seewerker as one who "has made a devoted study of the history and romance of the scenes of which he has written and which Owens has pictured." *Nuestro Pueblo* originally appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*. The sketches by Owens are selected because of special appeals to the artist. Nearly all have a historical bearing, and most of them represent some phase of life that is changing if not passing. They include such items as the "Old Mill of San Marino," the "Oak of the Golden Dream," the "Old River Station," "Saint Vibiana's Cathedral," "Los Angeles' First Theater." Altogether they present a pleasing picture of some of the many sides of Los Angeles history. The publisher has done an excellent piece of work.

A HISTORY OF CHILE. By LUIS GALDAMES. Translated and edited by ISAAC J. COX. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. xii+565.

Dedicated to the people of Chile on the 400th anniversary of the founding of Santiago, their capital, in 1541, this well-balanced historical treatise carries the reader from the Stone Age days to the latest developments during the regime of the present liberal president, Pedro Aguirre Cerda. Fourth in the Inter-American Historical Series being published by the University of North Carolina Press, this volume fully maintains the high standard of the preceding volumes (Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia). Twenty-five photographs add to the value of the book. From Araucanian beginnings the author traces the development of Chilean society through the arrival of the Spanish from the north, the Revolution and the establishment of an independent nation, the vicissitudes of political strife, and the struggle to achieve a progressive national life. One hundred pages of biographical notes reveal the leadership of Chile during the past 400 years. Although the present Popular Front government is bitterly opposed, it is slowly pushing toward its announced liberal-progressive goals.

E.S.B.

JEWISH FATE AND FUTURE. By ARTHUR RUPPIN. Translated by E. W. DICKES. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1940, pp. xi+386.

The non-Jewish layman will find this book replete with interesting facts and with current as well as historical data. The world distribution of Jews, the urbanization trend and its influence on culture traits of the Jew, the marriage rate, the declining birth rate, the mortality rate, "the economic advance" of Jews, the occupations of Jews, the struggle for civil rights, the development of anti-Semitism, "the erosive effect" of assimilation, the Nazi brutality toward Jews, the Zionist movement, the rebuilding of Palestine, and the conflict of Jews and Arabs in Palestine: these are some of the themes that are presented. The discussion is fairly objective in its treatment of Jewish viewpoints. Not all readers will accept the author's inference at times that in Western countries the Jewish people are persecuted chiefly by Christians, for Christians are both friendly and antagonistic, and part of the worst expressions of anti-Semitism originate with non-Christians. Not all persons will be satisfied with the author's exhibit of the causes of antagonism toward the Jews. His selection of the chief cause is open to question, namely, that the "herd instinct" produces suspicion toward the stranger, namely, the Jew. The author feels that religion will no longer hold the Jews as a people together, but that a new common ideal such as "Zionism" can perform the miracle. However, he does not see much hope for the realization of the ideal of Zionism in the immediate future. As a whole, the book deserves commendation and a wide reading.

E.S.B.

DUSK OF DAWN. An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. By W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940, pp. vii+334.

In this remarkably revealing document the author accomplishes two important results. He gives a significant picture of a sensitive personality and explains why it is that he has often seemed unresponsive even to his friends within the white race. The reader sees him going about his business, which is that of an intellectual leader of his race, seemingly wrapped up in his own thoughts, even when working for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Harvard University, except as he on occasion bursts forth in denunciation of injustice in the race relations field. He is no believer in appeasement. He cannot compromise without hurting his own conscience. He is nobody's "yes man." In his account of his running fight for years with Booker T. Washington, he is seen as a belligerent against Washing-

ton's kowtowing to the white race. His is a personality which grows impatient if wrongs are not righted at once and which protests when leaders of his race are willing to give up an immediate fight for the sake of what they might consider a victory sometime in the future.

The second achievement of the book is that the Negro's problem in the United States is laid bare. After decades of "freedom" the Negro is in the "dusk of dawn" stage. He is just perceiving the earliest rays of the morning sun of his liberty. Dr. DuBois protests against the "servility necessary for the ordinary waiter." The Negro race is described as a group of people imprisoned within a group, whose attitude toward their environing race "congeals into the matter of unreasoning resentment and even hatred, deep disbelief in them and refusal to conceive honesty and rational thought on their part." The author stoutly asserts that "the democracy which the white world seeks to defend does not exist." For example, he states that "our insurance business should cease to be, as it so largely is, a matter of deliberate gambling and become a cooperative service to equalize the incidence of misfortune equitably among members of the whole group without profit to anybody." The Negro's environment as found in his own race is also laid bare. Wherever DuBois' pen runs, it spares neither friend nor foe. It is sincere, penetrating, and courageous. Whether the reader agrees or not, he will be waked up. E.S.B.

DAWN OVER CHUNGKING. By ADET, ANOR, and MEIMEI LIN. New York: The John Day Company, 1941, pp. 240.

This book is more than excerpts written in diaries by three interesting girls; it opens the windows to the soul of a people under fire from the skies. It is more than accounts of bombing; it shows the reactions of a venerable race of people to injustice and cruelty rained from the heavens. It is more than one vivid account after another of sirens that screech warnings, and of men, women, and children seeking protection in dug-outs; it shows the resoluteness of human nature in China. It is more than descriptions of weary, cramped life in damp underground channels; it breathes the spirit of forthcoming victory of the human soul over high explosives. It is more than a tale of the incomprehensiveness and terrible-ness of modern warfare with noncombatants its chief victims; it depicts the ultimate victory of the undaunted spirit of the Chinese people, whose culture is rooted in the imponderables of prehistorical days.

E.S.B.

BASQUE GIRL. By MIRIM ISASI. Glendale, California: Griffin-Patterson Publishing Company, 1940, pp. 249.

In pleasing style and well-planned outline Miss Isasi carries her readers in captivating fashion through this semiautobiography of a portion of her life. Through her girlhood and young womanhood experiences, which are delightfully woven together, you learn about many of the customs of her people, the Basques, and how they live in their home provinces in the Pyrenees. Without being aware of what is being done, you develop a real interest in the daily life of these semi-isolated people with their love of pelota and their great "devotion to home, pride of race, love of tradition." The author brings you to the opening months of the civil war in Spain and to the Basque attempt to achieve national autonomy. She leaves the Basques with their "freedom now shackled for a time, but always to be revived." She leaves you wishing that she would tell you some more about herself and her independence-loving people.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SWEDISH POPULATION MOVEMENTS: 1750-1933. By DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, pp. xxiv+487.

This volume is the first in a series concerned with the interrelationships between social and economic factors and population development in Sweden. The first chapter is a thorough survey of population and population movements; the second deals with agricultural developments; and the third, with industrialization. The second part of the book is an analysis by types of communities for the period from 1895 to 1933, the subjects including population trends, mobility, migration and business cycles, trends in natality and mortality, and data on composition of population. Swedish population statistics are noted for their excellence, and in this work the author has taken full advantage of the opportunity for a superior scientific study.

J.E.N.

THE THREE SOONG SISTERS. By EMILY HAHN. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1941, pp. xxi+349.

This book gives a fascinating picture of the three famous women of China. It gives an account of their father and their strong-minded mother, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Soong. The American education of their father and of the three girls, the espousal of Christianity by all, their

marriages—of Eling to H. H. Kung, of Chingling to Sun Yat-sen, and of Mayling to Chiang Kai-shek—are related in fascinating style. The rest of the book is given over to a recital of many of the facts of recent Chinese history, down to the bombings of Chungking, the new capital. The rise of New China, the struggle against communism, the development of the New Life Movement, the springing into being of the Chinese Industrial co-operatives, all receive attention. The intimate life of an age-old people undergoing a fundamental cultural change is revealed.

I CHOSE DENMARK. By FRANCIS HACKETT. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940, pp. xiv+291.

With literary skill and historical devotion to facts Mr. Hackett depicts everyday life among the Danes prior to April, 1940. It is the story of the democratic living of a freedom-loving people. The author and his wife, Signe Toksvig, a daughter of Denmark, are well qualified to present these informal "chatty" pictures of Denmark. Since "Lincoln dead by a bullet is no less Lincoln," so Denmark "in a barbed-wire cage is no less Denmark, the spiritual being," and hence "Denmark goes on" even if temporarily imprisoned.

SOCIAL DRAMA

WATCH ON THE RHINE. A play in three acts by LILLIAN HELLMAN. New York: Random House, 1941, pp. 170.

This powerful anti-Nazi play with not a single Nazi in it is Lillian Hellman's contribution to the forces at work attempting to awaken United States citizenry to the danger that awaits them if Britain falls. Miss Hellman, foremost American woman playwright, has turned out a drama which is filled with interest at every turn and which has a magnificent last act that is brimful of intense melodrama. The play conveys a simple story, centered about the return from Europe of Sara Müller, daughter of a dead American father who had made his mark in diplomatic circles. To her mother's finely kept old Washington mansion she brings her husband and three children. Kurt Müller, the husband, has been ever since 1933 engaged in anti-Nazi activities and at the moment is

attempting to get back into Germany with funds in order to aid three of his co-workers who have been ensnared in a trap.

The Müller family has been fleeing from one country to another, and Miss Hellman in her first act shows delightfully all the beauty and charm that a safe homecoming for refugees can possess. The mother of Sara, Fanny Farrelly, is a smart, sharp, witty woman who knows little of the present political scene but who loves to dwell upon the wisdom of her dead husband. Little does she realize that her quiet and well-ordered home is about to witness the serious business of politics as played by modern European minds. Kurt's secret is discovered by a guest in the house, the crafty but down-at-the-heels Count Teck De Brancovis, a Rumanian. The Count proceeds to attempt to blackmail Kurt, demanding ten thousand dollars for the keeping of the secret from the Nazi agents in America. Kurt is desperate; he must get back to Germany if the friends are to be saved. Fanny Farrelly, brought at last to realize the deadly earnestness of the situation, agrees to provide part of the ready cash. But Kurt knows the kind of man and the thing he is fighting. The only way out for his cause, the cause that he hopes will finally free man from killing, must be to kill. And so he kills the Count and drags his body out to a waiting car.

Quietly and sensitively, he tells all of them, gathered in the living room where the killing has just taken place, why he had to take the chance of being martyred; to his children he explains that he is departing so that one day men will no longer have to kill. There must be "a childhood for every child," a world without want and starvation, a place for free men to act as free men. Dramatist Hellman has indeed drawn with superb artistry the picture of this man, consecrated to the cause of freeing man from the iron jaws of Hitlerism. *Watch on the Rhine* becomes, because of this, an impressively significant drama.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL FICTION

CARAVAN FOR CHINA. By FRANK S. STUART. New York: The Book League of America, 1941, pp. 307.

In this exciting novel, against a setting extending across the then almost limitless expanses from Rome, during the rule of Tiberius Caesar, to faraway China, during Lui Sui's golden reign, Frank S. Stuart has woven a story of adventure that will hold the reader's interest from be-

ginning to end. The story is concerned with the quest of Black Simon of Cyrene for his red-haired sweetheart, Helen, who was sold into slavery. A rumor that Helen is in China leads him to accept a commission to take a caravan into that distant and unknown land. The route is long and hazardous. From Rome they go to Damascus and Baghdad, over the Golden Road to Samarkand, then across the wastes of the Gobi Desert and past the Great Wall into China itself. The great caravan led by Simon makes its progress against almost insurmountable obstacles exercised by the relentless forces of nature. These obstacles are made even more difficult by the hatred, conspiracy, and intrigue perpetrated by the jealous "exquisite," Felix, who bribed the hired murderer, Narcissus the Hunchback, to carry out evil schemes against Simon.

Though the setting is ancient, the language is modern and spicy. The author further modernizes the story by including historical findings of social-psychological importance. Similarities between political, economic, and social thought and culture 2,000 years ago are illustrated with unusual clarity and often with ironic humor, especially when these illustrations negate some of our exaggerated ideas of present-day progress and civilization. An example of the foregoing is a description of China's Great Wall, which may be thought of as a forerunner of some of our great fortifications today. The "conspicuous waste" theory, noted so well by Veblen, seems to have been practiced as diligently by the elite then as it is now.

The difference between Eastern thought as represented by China and that of Western thought and culture finds expression in such statements as the following, made by the Chinese general, Ho Han: "Man is a handful of dust given life by his inconsistencies . . . As for great empires—what are they? Insecure monuments to bloody robbers . . . My idea of a really great empire would be a brotherhood of all men, living under just, light laws, from side to side of the earth." And this during a period when Rome was laying waste the lives of thousands for the extension of an already cumbersome empire! A dramatic twist is given the story with the entrance of Jesus of Nazareth, whose doctrines are beginning to be recognized as dangerous to Roman "law and order," and the book ends on a benign and hopeful note as Simon, "who called no man master," walks "in the footsteps of the Master." Throughout, the author seems to read into the thoughts and actions of his ancient characters many conditions now current.

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